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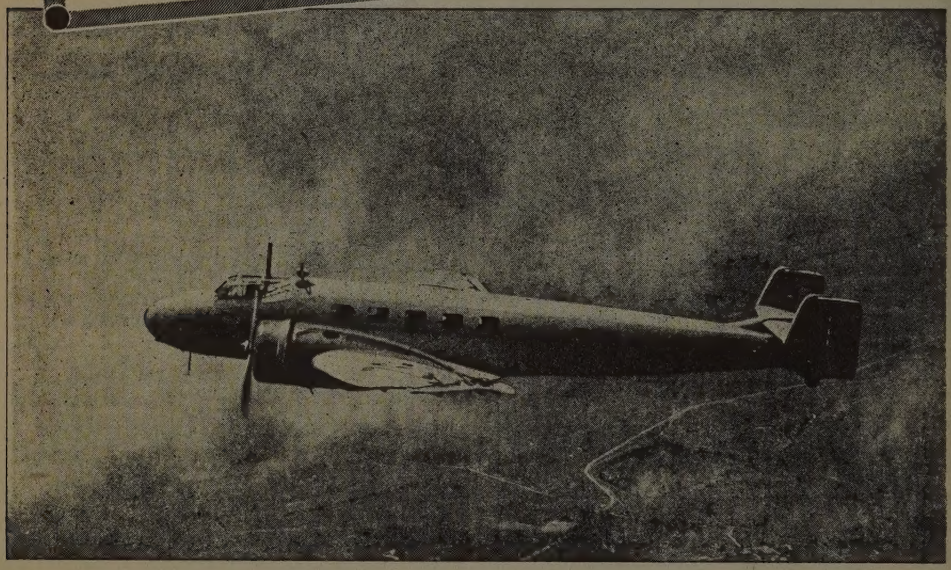
Holidays in SOUTH AFRICA



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WORLD REVIEW

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. *The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please.* Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

WHAT ABOUT GERMANY?

by VERNON BARTLETT

YOU have, in the middle of Europe, nearly eighty million Germans distinguished by their honesty, industry and sense of discipline. They are not, as their leaders claim, a people without space, for there are at the present time some tens of thousands of Italians who have been imported as labourers. But it is true that they support nearly twice as many people to an acre as do the French on a far more fertile soil. They have no colonies, and we in Great Britain have no right to question their abilities as colonists while, as Mr. Lloyd George recently said in Parliament, we are in danger of having a "slummy Empire." A Cabinet Minister said to me the other day that, unless we took a far greater interest in our own colonies they will, in another ten years or so, have "gone Communist." The Germans note our difficulties in Palestine or our mistakes in the West Indies, and their bitterness grows. They are, they convince themselves, still misunderstood and maltreated.

The future of Germany is the greatest problem in the world affairs to-day, and timid or muddled attempts to solve that problem must lead to war which, be it remembered, the great mass of the German people, having sacrificed and suffered so much more than we did between 1914 and 1924, is at least as anxious to avoid as we

are. There are, very roughly, two policies that present themselves. It is my aim to put them forward as objectively as possible.

May 21st is a date that crops up in every political conversation in Berlin. It is one that conveys nothing at all to the average Englishman, although his Government's warning to Herr von Ribbentrop at that time is looked upon as the first serious check to German ambitions. Some people will tell you that the warning against any military move against Czechoslovakia prevented war, that even if there was no unusual concentration of German troops near the frontier every man in every barracks in the Dresden area was ready to march and would have had to do so had the British not taken it all so seriously. Other people will tell you that the Germans behaved with great restraint in a crisis engineered and exaggerated by those elements in Czechoslovakia, Russia, France and England (in that order) who want a war now before Germany becomes too strong. Whichever version you accept, the rulers of Nazi Germany received a sudden and severe shock, and, despite the natural efforts to convince public opinion that it was a victory, the belief that Herr Hitler can get anything he asks for has been shaken for the first time since he became Chancellor.

With the experience of May 21st in mind we have to decide which policy is wise for the future. Should the fist be clenched or should the hand be outstretched ? Let *A* and *B* talk it over.

A. You'll admit that the attempts made since the War to encircle Germany and to keep her weak are partly responsible for the alarming situation to-day, and yet you talk of continuing that policy. . . .

B. Yes, very reluctantly I do. I criticised that policy while moderate men were in power in Germany because it played into the hands of the extremists. But now the extremists are in office and the moderates are in exile, and the situation has changed. The leaders are more subdued since May 21st and, perhaps even more, since the British began showing economic interest in south-eastern Europe. When it becomes a little clearer that Whitehall means business the Wilhelmstrasse will be ready to talk.

A. Or to go to war. After all, there is nobody in Germany who dares to talk bluntly to the Führer, and you can't tell how he will react. He most certainly wants peace, but isn't it very probable that

such proofs of British hostility are only going to make him more difficult to deal with later on? He needs two years before his army is strong enough to be confident of success in a short war. Surely it is wiser to show more understanding for his aims now, so that when the army is ready he will be less tempted to use it? For example, we have done nothing to give back the German colonies and now we seek to stop German economic influence in the Balkans. Isn't that so unjust that it must lead to war?

B. But I want to avoid that crisis two years hence. I agree Hitler wants peace, but his youth is being taught to dream of an expansion that can only be achieved by war. If he goes on scoring victory after victory over other powers in foreign affairs his young men will believe they can turn those dreams into realities and they may have won so many strategical positions in advance that they will also win the war. If they dominate Sweden and her iron ore, Czechoslovakia and her munition works, Hungary and her grain, Rumania and her oil, they will be strong enough to threaten and perhaps to defeat the British Empire.

A. I doubt that. Remember that the great strength of National Socialism is that it claims to bring all Germans together. It rejects citizens of foreign race—hence the very harsh treatment of the Jews. If the issue is widened to bring all sorts of other peoples under the German domination the National Socialist spearhead will be correspondingly blunted. Look what is happening in Austria, for example. Although the Austrians are a Germanic people, many of them are so discontented that Herr Hitler has been warned off visiting his native land for the time being. When it comes to Slavs and other non-Germans he will either have to confine his activities to normal economic penetration—helped only temporarily by the cleverness of Schacht's frozen credit policy—or an attempt to gain political domination will involve him in grave difficulties. And in either case the temptation to start a world war will be diminished. Only if you convince him that he must look upon the British Empire as an implacable enemy will he carry out his present re-armament policy to its desperate conclusion.

Besides, there's another point. I've heard you claim before now that the attempts of the British and the French, of Winston Churchill, Poincaré, and so on, to overthrow the Bolshevists in

Russia did, in fact, strengthen them. Revolutionary fervour is fortified if foreign pressure can arouse a nationalistic feeling. Isn't just the same thing happening in Germany to-day? Didn't it happen in Italy when Mussolini was able to claim that the rich and decadent British were jealous of the young and virile Italians?

B. Yes, one needs to avoid that. But I want a settlement with Germany just as much as you do. I am all in favour of making reasonable—no, generous—concessions about colonies or anything else that sticks in the German gizzard. But I don't believe we can expect to get them to the point of negotiating until we convince them that the policy of tearing up Treaties on a Saturday morning will sooner or later bring retribution on the Monday. You yourself reminded me that nobody dares talk bluntly to the Führer. The foreign minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, in no way fulfills the normal role of a foreign minister, which is to warn his government that such and such an action at home will have such and such an effect in some foreign country. It would be far better if Germans themselves would, for example, let Herr Hitler realise how devastating an effect his ill-treatment of Herr von Schuschnigg for committing the crime of being an Austrian patriot has had in most European countries. But if no German will tell him, then it's our job to do so, because otherwise he will perform some fresh act which will disgust us so much, or alarm us so much, that we shall all be involved in war.

A. The objections to that are that it's very difficult to get your criticisms or warnings to the Führer's ear, and that meanwhile you only convince the Germans who do read them that the whole world is against them. They will appreciate that National Socialism is guilty of many excesses but their pride will make them all the more boastful of their roads and their labour camps and their re-building of their great cities.

And, to go back a little, you must remember that there are no more treaties for Hitler to tear up and, by so doing, to unite public opinion inside Germany and to divide it abroad. The Nazi movement is bound to grow more moderate—unless its bitter opponents drive it into war, or, if you prefer it, give it so good an excuse for making war that the moderates will no longer be able to hold it in check. If we get over the Czechoslovak crisis, where the fate of the three and a half million Germans is a matter of sufficient importance

to justify quite a lot of the Nazi propaganda, there will be no other issue to arouse enthusiasm inside Germany for a dangerous foreign policy. And the utter failure of the last anti-Jewish campaign in Berlin shows the difficulty of finding an issue in domestic politics. In other words, the more moderate voices will be listened to again.

B. I'm afraid I can see no sign of it. The only people to whom the Führer listens are Goering, Ribbentrop and Himmler. The first may sometimes advise caution. The other two, as far as I can find out, are merely "yes-men." I agree that there are no more issues to unite public opinion in Germany when once this Czechoslovak business is out of the way. But that's what makes the next few months so dangerous. The desire of the extremists to retain power will almost certainly lead them to press for some drastic action somewhere (and it's extraordinary how soon some new and minor question can be lifted up by propagandists into a burning injustice which Germany must put right). Only the clearest possible warnings from London and Paris will serve to check extremist pressure. And if we can prevent war during the next six months we shall prevent it altogether—our own armaments will then be growing so formidable.

A. I wish I could believe that. To my mind any sign of bullying now might be effective for six months or even a couple of years, but it would convince the Germans of the next-war generation that they must fight to gain, or maintain, their country's liberty. And you know as well as I the futility of another war. Let us at any rate agree on this. It would be unwise to let the Germans believe we cannot fight and it would also be unwise to let them believe we want to hem them in, to frustrate their legitimate ambitions. Therefore, we should judge every question that arises on its merits, and as objectively as possible. When there appeared to be danger of war over Czechoslovakia, we took firm and effective action against it. But the German case is not without merits. Therefore, we should be equally firm in insisting that the Czechoslovak Government should produce suggestions for a compromise. For the sake of peace, no *parti pris* !

You pay your money, and you take your choice. (And if you don't choose half-way between the two I shall conclude that the Englishman has lost his gift, his passion, for compromise.)

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. The little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Choosing the Heir

IN Fascist Italy all the emphasis is laid on youth. Proud, truculent, ebullient youth. But in the sixteen years which have passed since the March on Rome the Fascist leaders have had time to mature. Signor Mussolini may test the vigour of his Ministers by making them dive over bayonets or jump through hoops, but he cannot prolong their youth any more than his own. Hair turns grey or heads grow bald ; yards and yards more of black silk are needed to swathe the Fascist waist ; and every day the *Passo Romano*, the Fascist high-kick, becomes more of a strain to perform.

Now the younger generation, bred in Fascism, begin to look askance at the elderly juveniles who lead them. All Italians are brought up to believe that youth is in itself a virtue, entitling its possessor to the supreme posts. Those now in power are, in fact, exposed to the effects of their own slogans ; but they do not give in lightly. They cling to their domination, justifying it by the physical antics that delight the evening paper readers here. But Signor Mussolini is not blind to the threat of advancing age ; he knows that one day he will be swept off the board by younger men, and, with due foresight, he has chosen an heir, Count Galeazzo Ciano.

A Successful Marriage

Count Ciano, the 34-year-old Foreign Minister of Italy, has had a far smoother career than the Duce. Born at Leghorn, the son of Costanzo Ciano, an early follower of Mussolini, the young Galeazzo studied law in Rome. There he was a leader of young society and wrote two plays, which, owing to his father's high position in the Fascist party, were never criticised. He also edited a newspaper and passed his Diplomatic exams.

COUNT CIANO

The father, Costanzo, was a figure of some renown. His war exploits against the Austrians in the Adriatic were celebrated throughout Italy. With the rise of Fascism, he rallied to Signor Mussolini and later became Minister of Communications. In fact, Costanzo Ciano is the real person to whom the punctuality of Italian trains is due.

Taking the Count

As a journalist, Galeazzo flooded the newspapers with second-rate prose and at the same time got an insight into methods of publicity which was to prove useful later on. His first diplomatic post was in Rio de Janeiro. From there he returned to Rome and became engaged to Edda Mussolini, the Duce's eldest daughter. The Cianos were very small beer before the rise of Fascism and, although Signor Mussolini did not want to ally his family with the old and rather decadent aristocracy, he jibbed a little at such an apparently unambitious marriage. The solution was to ennoble the Cianos, and Costanzo was made Count Ciano of Cortellazzo.

The "Young Eagle"

As Signor Mussolini's son-in-law, young Ciano found the way made easy for him. He was first sent to China as Consul-General in Shanghai, where he learnt to dislike the English. Though his wife was very popular among the British community, Count Ciano made a bad impression. His ability was recognised, but struck those he met as being riddled with malice and *arrière-pensées*. His vanity seemed to British eyes contemptible. But, for failing to take him at his own value, the British had a heavy price to pay in the future strengthening of Signor Mussolini's policy of blackmail.

After attending the London Economic Conference in a subordinate position, Count Ciano blossomed out as head of the Duce's Press Bureau. This post, which later developed into that of Minister for Press and Propaganda, gave him control over the whole of the Italian newspaper world. But, when the Abyssinian War broke out, Signor Mussolini decided that his son-in-law must become a hero ; Count Ciano went to Africa as a pilot and the Italian Press rang with the praises of the "Young Eagle." The outlook of the "Young Eagle" himself was expressed in an interview given to the Press after a successful air attack ; the glee with which he described the flight of the defenceless Abyssinians before the pursuing bombers was cynically callous.

Foreign Minister and Confidante

That Count Ciano was destined for great things first became obvious on his return to Rome. There were several experienced candidates for the office of Foreign Minister, which Mussolini had himself held since 1932. Such were the Deputy, Polverelli, Suvich, now Italian Ambassador in Washington, and Dino Grandi. But it was the young Ciano who got the job and embarked on a brilliant career of visits to Berlin, Budapest and Vienna. Probably it was his wife's influence which carried the day. Countess Ciano is the only one of Signor Mussolini's children to have inherited a large proportion of his forcefulness and intelligence ; she is his favourite daughter and is always in close touch with him. Bruno and Vittorio, the Duce's two sons, have had to be written off. At their school in Rome, the Ciceo Tasuo, they were quite undistinguished. Since

then, one has entered the Air Force and the other writes film scenarios. The fact that the latter, Vittorio, was allowed to make a comparatively humble marriage shows that is he completely out of the succession.

Although there is no denying Count Ciano's cleverness, his choice as successor to the Fascist throne seems open to several criticisms. There is nothing to prove that he is a man of real character ; he has never taken a knock or been through a rough-and-tumble ; many people think him superficial and dangerously inexperienced. One cannot help feeling that, should Signor Mussolini disappear from the scene, some Sulla with bigger guns, such as Count Grandi or Marshal Balbo, would return and drive the trivial Marius from the field. But the Duce may be right on one point ; Count Ciano, as his son-in-law, is about the only one among his 44,000,000 fellow-countrymen whom he dares to trust.

The Spanish "Settlement"

Italian foreign policy to-day, like Mr. Chamberlain's, is suffering from the effects of a miscalculation. Both in Rome and in London, when the Anglo–Italian Agreement was drafted, it was expected that General Franco would win the war in Spain within a few months. Now an end seems unlikely before next year. But, until a settlement in Spain is reached, the British Government are pledged not to recognise the conquest of Abyssinia or to ratify the Agreement. Fortunately the Prime Minister has never defined a "settlement" in Spain ; probably he is waiting to take advantage of any lull in the conflict which he can reasonably present to the House of Commons as constituting a "settlement." So far the only hope seems to be provided by the Non-Intervention Agreement with its regulations for the "substantial withdrawal" of volunteers.

The Need for Patience

But a long time may elapse before volunteers are withdrawn. It is the Italian and German aviation which is battering the Spanish Government into submission—both by air raids over cities and by attacks on British merchantmen bringing supplies. Until the victory is won, will Signor Mussolini be prepared to deprive General Franco of so indispensable a weapon ? Yet, in the meanwhile, the Duce sees his other line of policy, his *rapprochement* with Britain, indefinitely

thwarted. It is no longer the Machiavellian triumph he would like it to appear. Staleness breeds impatience, and it is natural for the Fascist temperament to blame the delay on other nations. That is the danger now. If Signor Mussolini can hold his hand, the Anglo-Italian Agreement will duly be completed without any sudden renewal of tension ; but, if, on the other hand, in a fit of pique, he launches forth into some fresh adventure involving his prestige, the most important card in Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement programme will fall to the ground unplayed, and perhaps never to be played again. So far Count Ciano, in his recent conversations with Lord Perth, has shown little restraint or helpfulness. But it is his father-in-law who has the last word, and there is a chance that the Duce at least may remain unruffled.

THEY'RE OFF!
British Plan for Spain : Official

British plan for withdrawal of volunteers from Spain, published in White Paper to-night, will require five months to carry through, writes " Evening Standard " correspondent.
It will take 45 *days to set the machinery* ; 50 *days for the evacuation of volunteers apart from sick and wounded and prisoners of war* ; 49 *days will be spent in a search for stragglers, and whole scheme will be completed in* 164 *days.*
Volunteers will be transferred to evacuation areas at the rate of 2,000 *men per day.*

Evening Standard, 11.7.38.

If any non-Spaniards are fighting in Spain,
  The Powers engaging in non-interference
Their numbers (if any) will now ascertain,
  And adopt Britain's plan for immediate clearance.

For foreign assistance (if any) is due
  To the non-recognition of non-observation,
Which our Draft Resolution will tighten anew
  (If the rumour just mentioned receives confirmation).

A Board the Committee will summon with speed,
  The Board in a trice will dispatch two Commissions
Which will to the scene of the conflict proceed
  To count volunteers and (if any) technicians.

Both Spanish Headquarters will straightway appoint
  Officials to furnish the relevant data,
Whereon both Commissions will merge in a Joint,
  Effecting withdrawal for both sides (pro rata).

The new Joint Commission will forthwith afford
  Due time while the stragglers are found and surrounded,
Then Committee, Commission, Headquarters and Board
  Get the whole foreign army (if any) impounded.

If the war's hoped-for settlement meantime delays,
  While men and material (if any) are sorted ;
Then barely one hundred and sixty-four days
  Will see foreign assistance (if any) deported.

And though Franco must wait on the fortunes of War,
  Great Britain again wins a peaceful extension,
Enabling the Powers to rely, as before,
  On the non-application of Non-Intervention.

" REYNARD."

1838

Lord Brougham directed their lordships' attention to certain instructions alleged to have been issued by the Lords of the Admiralty to cruisers off the Spanish coast, to prevent the approach of Sardinian or Dutch vessels with munitions of war. The noble and learned lord considered such instructions (if issued) as a palpable infraction of international law ; in short the noble and learned lord said that " he was forced to take for granted that we were at war, though it was not necessary that we should be so, though we assisted one party."—*Sunday Times*, *July* 15, 1838.

THE OPEN FORUM

THE WATCH ON THE DANUBE

by DOUGLAS REED

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles from men of international fame. Mr. Douglas Reed, whose recent book, "Insanity Fair", has rivalled the success of "Inside Europe", writes this article from Central Europe. As the representative of a great British newspaper, he has exceptional opportunities for supplying that information which is essential if our readers are to pass wise judgment on the Danubian situation

THE Danube for long to come will dominate the political picture of Europe. The name, for most English people, has meant ballet girls in blue, dancing a Strauss waltz, afternoon coffee at Coblenz with the Danube curving by below, evenings in the open air restaurants of the Margaret Island at Budapest, with the river swiftly flowing past. In 1938 it has a soberer significance. It is the symbol of the direction in which the German urge to expand will now move.

The Rhineland has been recovered and all is well in the west. Austria has been annexed and the south is secure. Inevitably the battering-ram that is German policy, backed by the energy of 75 million people, slews round and points down the Danube, the waterway leading to the Black Sea. It is conceivable that the next immediate German move might be in Danzig, because progress on the Danube is difficult at the moment and Danzig offers spectacular success cheaply. But the main drive will be down the Danube. Its aim will be to achieve political and economic ascendancy over the Danubian States, to ensure that they will produce predominantly for Germany in peace and not be among her enemies in war.

A Natural Link

To the German mind this is a natural process, supported by all arguments of sound trading and geography. The Reich is a great industrial country, but cannot grow all it needs to eat: the Danubian States are predominantly agricultural: the Danube links them all; therefore let the barge convoys toiling laboriously upstream bring their foodstuffs and livestock to Germany, the barge convoys slipping swiftly downstream bring German farm machinery, locomotives, and motor cars to them.

DOUGLAS REED

It is a powerful argument, difficult to confute. The capacity of the Reich to consume the products of the Danubian States is enormous, the Danube is a convenient thoroughfare for the exchange of goods. The strength of Germany's position on the Danube is so great that she should be able to obtain everything she wants in Danubian and Balkan Europe by peaceful means, by merely leaning her weight south-eastward. For that matter, Germany in 1914 looked as if she could achieve paramountcy in Europe by peaceful means, in virtue of her geographical position, her large and fecund population, and her efficiency in manufacturing and marketing what her neighbours wanted.

Dangers to Independence

For the small Danubian States close political and economic relationships with the Reich carry great advantages. They also contain a danger : that their dependence on the consuming capacity of the great militarist Reich might bring a threat to their own independent existence. All these States have known Turkish or Germanic domination, or both. Freedom from foreign rule, won at such cost, is dear to them. The prospect of new subjugation is terrifying. But economic dependence on the Reich itself makes some inroads on their independence, for the following reasons :

These small States are predominantly agricultural not because they love tilling the fields, but because, being under alien rule when the mechanical age began, they lagged behind. Perhaps they would be wiser to-day to keep to agriculture and shun industry, who knows ? But for better or worse, they long to have their own industries, to mine their own coal and iron, to make their own cheap silk stockings and tooth-paste, to building their own locomotives and tanks and aircraft. The urge towards industrialisation is strong in them. In Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria new industries are constantly taking root.

Economic dependence on Germany, which does not want manufactures from them but only agricultural products, tends to check this process of industrialisation and tie them to the land. It is, in effect, a form of subservience ; might it not be even the shadow, cast before, of coming political domination ? All of these states, save Czechoslovakia, now send 40 per cent. or more of their exports to Germany and receive in return, not cash, with which home industries could be developed, but German manufactures.

Will London take a Hand ?

For such reasons the news from London that a Government Inter-Departmental Committee has been set up to study means of extending financial and economic relations with the Danubian and Balkan State was welcomed on the Lower Danube, though this pleasure was not loudly expressed. Why ? The reason is again to be found in the Reich, which was suspicious of this announcement and saw in it a new move to strengthen the resistance of small states to the spread of German influence in an area where Germany feels herself predestined and entitled to be paramount.

The Danubian States, for their part, would gladly increase their sales in the western markets, where they can obtain negotiable currencies in payment, but their dependence on the Reich is already such that they have to be circumspect. How far London is actually prepared to go in this direction is a question. The feeling in Danubia is that the potential British support is not so much contemplated for the inland Danubian countries, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, which are felt to be already so near to the shadow of German domination as to have been more or less written off in London, as for the more southerly countries, with a seaboard, where British influence could more easily, more naturally, and less pointedly make itself felt. For London, it is believed, the real first line of defence against German economic expansion is probably Yugoslavia–Greece–Turkey. The recent announcement of the British arms credit to Turkey seems to support this view.

A Purely Danubian Commission

At the seizure of Austria, Germany made a mighty jump down the Danube, from Passau to Bratislava. A long stretch of the river is now under her exclusive control. She would like the other Danubian States to withdraw, like herself, from the International Commission, set up at the peace conference, and to join her in a purely Danubian Commission, to the exclusion of powers which use the river but do not live on its banks.

Such a Commission would be under predominant German control, and would give a picture in miniature of the regime in Danubian Europe which Germany envisages as the right and proper one for this area. Soon the other International Danube Commission —that which was charged by the Paris Conference after the Crimean War to take its seat at the mouth of the Danube for two years and see that this was kept navigable, and is still sitting there to-day, eighty years after—would be ousted. Its status is certainly anomalous and it has never been loved by the States which live on the Danube, least of all by Rumania, in whose territory it sits.

The Rhine–Main–Danube Canal

Meanwhile the construction of the Rhine–Main–Danube Canal, a gigantic project which has lain dormant for many years and which

Field Marshal Goering has now commanded to be completed in four years, by opening up a waterway for ships right across Europe from the North Sea to the Black Sea will vastly increase the importance of the Danube and of Germany's position on the Danube. In conception it is not much inferior to those other continental short-cuts, the Suez and Panama Canals. It will similarly increase the dependence on Germany of those Lower Danubian States which would largely use it.

Czechoslovakia the Obstacle

Altogether, many omens are propitious for the consummation of the great customs union idea, linking the agricultural Danubian States with the mighty industrialised Reich, in which Germany sees an ideal unit for the exchange of goods and services and an ideal market for her wares. There is one great obstacle—Czechoslovakia. This, rather than the cause of the Sudeten Germans, may be the real reason for the relentless siege of that young Republic.

Czechoslovakia is the only Danubian State that is not predominantly agricultural. She has a large and efficient industry. She is thus less dependent economically on Germany as a purchaser of her exports than the other Danubian States. She is an efficient self-contained unit, with agriculture well balanced against industries. Politically, she is, through her alliances with France and Russia, equally independent of the Reich ; she feels herself nearest to the threat of renewed German domination and is resolved to resist it rather than yield to it. The other Danubian States, farther away, look non-committally on. Czechoslovakia is the first of them to feel that the drive down the Danube immediately threatens her existence.

On the outcome of this struggle depend the pace and extent of Germany's expansion down the Danube. Since May 21st the Czechoslovaks have had their defences manned and are busily strengthening them, so that any attempt to overcome this obstacle by a quick swoop on the Austrian model would mean heavy fighting and the danger of a general European war. Germany's means of extending her orbit of influence by non-violent methods, once she can find some way round the Czechoslovak difficulty, are so great that this risk does not seem worth her while.

Alternatives to War

What are the other possibilities? Will the Czechoslovak Nationalities Statute give the Sudeten Germans concessions that can be used to undermine the structure of the Czechoslovak State from inside, on the model of Austria, Herr von Schuschnigg and Herr von Seyss-Inquart? Can Czechoslovakia be induced by unrelenting pressure to break with her French and Russian allies and, consoled possibly with a vassal independence, be brought to fall into the German line, so that the way would be clear to Budapest and beyond?

All down the line of the Danube men are asking these questions and waiting on the outcome of the Czech–German struggle, for they know that the destiny of the rest of Danubia hangs upon it. They know that some change has got to come and cannot foretell what it will be. Will Czechoslovakia disintegrate? Will there be war? Is there any hope of some compromise solution? Everybody ponders these alternatives, and nobody can find the answer.

Whatever solution the future holds, Hungary seems to stand and fall with Czechoslovakia. If Germany succeeds, in one form or another, in subjugating Czechoslovakia or in bringing her into the German camp, Hungary will also pass irrevocably into the German orbit, to which she is in any event, by all her interests and traditions, strongly attracted. She would presumably retain that independence of self-government which she so long strove after and eventually won from Austria, but the mighty Reich, once at her door, would never be satisfied with anything less than the complete customs union and full military co-ordination which existed between Austria and Hungary in the old German–Magyar Empire. Rumania and Bulgaria would hardly be able to offer much more resistance. Yugoslavia is a question mark: there the tussle between German and Slav in Danubian Europe might begin again.

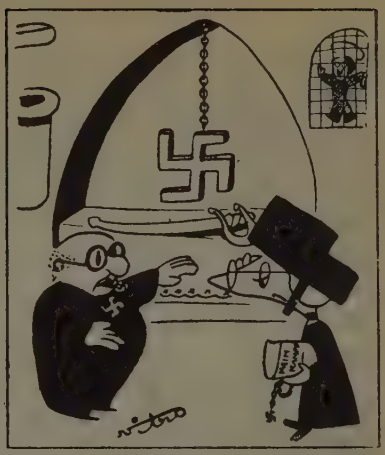
All this turns on the result of the tug-of-war between Berlin and Prague. The issue, as men instinctively feel, is not "Home Rule for the Sudeten Germans," but the future of Danubian Europe.

CRACKS AT THE DICTATORS

THE ELYSIAN FIELDS

"Le Canard Enchainé," *Paris*

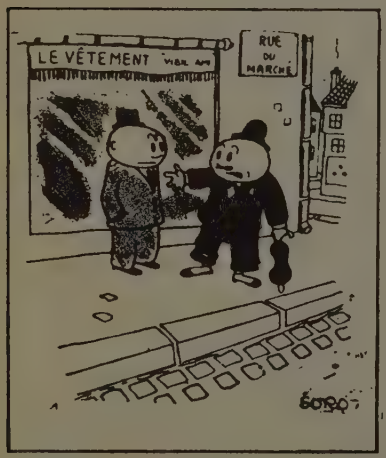
"Napoleon's gone completely nuts. He thinks he's Mussolini !"



"Le Canard Enchainé," *Paris*

THE NEW GERMAN CHURCH

"And as a penance, you will say three 'Our Führer's' every night, and read *Mein Kampf* ten times."



"Marianne," *Paris*

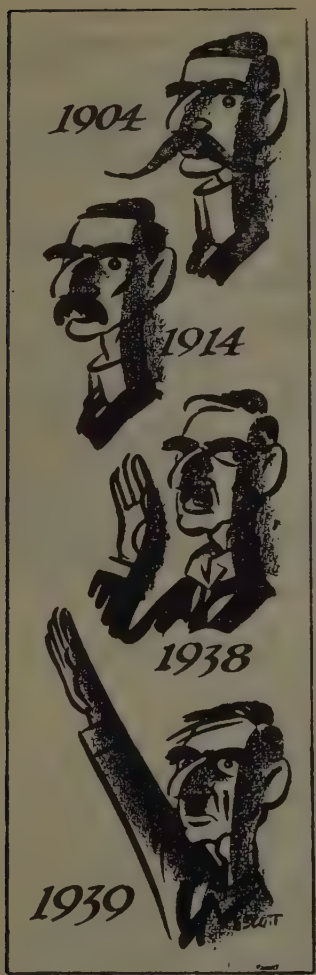
"What will give us peace in Europe at last?"

"It's enough, if Stalin dies of grief on hearing that Hitler has committed suicide on the tomb of Mussolini ! . . ."

"Marianne," *Paris*

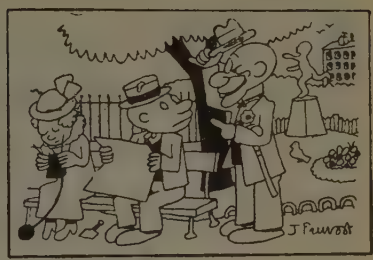
A BAD TIME FOR SCHOOLBOYS

"You must admit, with this chap Hitler, learning geography's not even funny !"



"New Masses," *New York.*

THE HISTORY OF A TORY WHISKER



"Le Canard Enchainé," *Paris*

"Excuse me, your hat has been the victim of a bombing-pigeon !"

"Settebello," *Rome.*

"Thank God ! Civilisation again at last !"

TOWARDS PEACE IN SPAIN?

"The Brothers"

There have been suggestions in the British Press that the moment for mediation in the Spanish civil war was approaching. Unfortunately, such premature announcements merely have the effect of checking tendencies towards peace and driving those who are working for them into feverish assurances of loyalty to the Republic or the Nationalist cause. The extracts printed below come in a different category. Dr. Negrin, the Prime Minister, and General Yagüe, one of the most important generals on the Franco side, are at one in insisting that Spain is for the Spaniards, that there must be great social reforms and that there must be freedom of worship. General Yagüe's speech was delivered in Burgos on April 19th and his obvious preference for Spaniards who happen to be "Red" to the foreigners in General Franco's army has led him into grave trouble.

Little has been heard of him since his army played so great a part in breaking through to the Mediterranean coast, and according to reports confirmed in the Italian Press he has since been placed under arrest. But his view is shared by an ever-growing number of General Franco's supporters. It is not improbable that by now a large majority of them would subscribe to Dr. Negrin's claim that there can be no peace while foreigners are on Spanish soil, but that there can *be peace the moment they leave*

Extracts from a speech broadcast from Madrid by Dr. Negrin, Prime Minister of Spain, on June 16*th*

WE are fighting for the independence of Spain. If this were not so we would not be prepared to see the war last a moment longer nor another drop of blood shed. We would not allow the pain and suffering to increase. But the very existence of Spain as a free country is at stake, and that being so there can be no limit to the sacrifice.

While there is one inch of our land remaining, and while there is one Spaniard living, we will fight to the death if the future of our country is at stake, and we will conquer.

Fascist Schemes

What was meant to be an insurrection became a civil war, and very soon a war of invasion. . . . Do you believe that the Italians and Germans who are destroying our cities and our people, devastating our riches and murdering without pity our women and children —women and children of Spain—do your think that they feel any interest in our war ? that they show sympathy for our people ? They take advantage of the situation, but they despise you.

They lack the heart to understand us. They have too little generosity to judge us. This and no other is the reality. Will you consent that those who to-day consider themselves lords and masters, and who imagine our country mortgaged in their favour, divide us into zones of influence, and that they exploit the work of our fathers and the labour of our sons ? Do you not see that they will not object, if need be, to satisfy others with part of the booty, cutting the country into pieces, converting it into a defeated land or a mandated territory?

We are the victims of the uncontrollable ambition of some and of the mediocrity and cowardice of others.

We are fighting to save Spain from foreign domination and from possible seizure by nations abroad, and we will win. The certainty of victory inspires Spain with the invincible desire to attain it. . . .

Spain is not an isolated rock in the world. Every day of resistance is a battle won in the international field in favour of our cause, for the heroism of our soldiers has shattered the plans made at our expense.

We have reason to be confident in victory. When a Government asks its people to resist to the utmost in the face of great afflictions and sacrifices, it must be in support of principles held by the people themselves. Such sacrifices cannot be demanded in the name of any specific ideology, or any group or party ; we must seek a common denominator of aims, the sum total of obligations contracted during the country's history, which are debts to be paid to posterity.

We are fighting to ensure the absolute independence of Spain, an independence without obstacles or limits other than those imposed by a common right to establish bonds between the peoples. . . .

Independence means liberation from invaders, means also rejecting guardians, means giving the worker the right to enjoy the fruits of his own lands instead of being the victim of foreign plunder, means a political life and economy directed, regulated and exploited by and for the Spaniards.

A Free Spain

We are fighting for the integrity of Spain, and we will not countenance any dismemberment of her territory, her coastline, her cities. Neither in the Peninsula nor in her islands, neither among her possessions nor in her protectorate. We are fighting for the democratic Republic of the people, since the Monarchy lost all touch with the national feeling and so brought about the decadence of Spain and the loss of her institutions. . . .

We are fighting so that the will of Spain, to be expressed in a plebiscite as soon as the war is over, may determine the political and social life of the Republic.

We are fighting so that the State may ensure full rights to the

citizen, and respect to conscience and creed. There must be no intervention on the part of the Church as an institution in the life of the State, nor any interference by its priests in civil disputes. But, on the other hand, there must be guarantees of full freedom of worship. We owe this to our principles. We owe this to the countless Spaniards who practise a positive religion ; we owe it to the thousands of Catholics who are fighting on our side. But were there only one such Catholic—even if there were none—the State could not countenance the persecution of ideas. It would be a tremendous error. Persecution creates martyrs, and martyrs revive beliefs. In all religious feeling there is something of the noblest of the human spirit, and were it not for a deep religious sense it would be difficult to find courage to support the hard trials which our country is now enduring.

We are fighting so that the fruits of the land may be for the man who works it. We are fighting to suppress the shameless exploitation of the individual by a wealthy class which in its turn converts itself into the ruler of the State and loses sight of—and almost always goes against—the collective interest. Let him who wishes to be an owner become one by his own efforts and let him submit the enjoyment of his possessions to the supreme interest of the nation. . . .

"Le Canard Enchaîné," *Paris*
"The wheat harvest looks like being bad, but I'm quite pleased with my Spanish crops."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," *Paris*
"What authority have you for believing that I have any influence over this fellow Franco?"

We are fighting for the establishment of international relations founded on a regime of law, but founded also on a basis of equality. In order to attain this no sacrifice should be spared.

Peace after the Strife

If, while the war lasts, we have to be stern and inexorable with the declared or the hidden enemy, yet we long for peace in order to unite all our countrymen who sincerely wish to carry out their duty, to which all of us are called, in the tremendous task of building Spain afresh and making her a great country.

Is there anyone who believes that after this bloody struggle it will be possible merely to classify Spaniards as victors or vanquished? Is there anyone who thinks that in the rebuilding of our country we can dispense with any worker in any branch of State activity because of the regimental badge he wore? Must this fratricidal struggle go on in peace time? No! And though this may be unwelcome to many of you I say it will be easier to come to an understanding with the enemy of yesterday, the enemy of to-day and perhaps the collaborator of to-morrow, than with the cautious spectator who

THE NEW BOYHOOD OF RALEIGH.

"The Daily Worker."

wishes to be on good terms with everybody ; who from a lofty position far removed from the dust of the arena is awaiting the moment when he may take his place in the triumphal car and who, when there is no longer any risk, will damage your work with a cold and soulless criticism.

Cursed be the ruler who does not realise that when the fight is over his first duty is to bring about conciliation and harmony so as to render possible the fellowship of all citizens. It will be a sorry thing for Spain if after such suffering and humiliation she is unable to find the leaders who see that the interests of their compatriots lie away from the hatred and revenge which civil war engenders. It would be the end of Spain.

The fighters at the front must wage war with courage and bravery. The conquest that lies ahead of us merits all sacrifices. We are fighting—heed my words—so that Spain may belong to the Spaniards, and this we shall achieve.

Extracts from a Speech delivered at Burgos on April 19th, by General Yagüe

I pray that God will inspire me so that I may impress upon those men who are cold of heart and who lack faith, that at this time Spain needs the efforts of all her sons ; that it is a crime not to form part of the national block, and far worse to try to produce rifts for the sake of personal ambition, grudges, or small spites ; that such conduct is criminal at this juncture and might also prove a dangerous pastime.

I wish that these men whose hearts are cold might see our soldiers when, worn out by endless marching, their bodies bruised from battling through thickets and over crags, their nerves strained by exposure to danger for hours on end and day after day, their minds saddened by the vision of their noblest comrades fallen at their side, they meet a group of Red prisoners. At that moment, when any brutality would be excusable and all acts of vengeance understandable, the first thing our fellows do is to offer them their water-bottles and cigarettes, and after they have watched them satisfy these material needs they hold out their arms and clasp them in a brotherly embrace. (*Loud cheers.*)

Courage of the Reds

There at the front these men would learn that there is also no truth in the reports, so current at many miles' distance from the firing-line, to the effect that the Reds run away the whole time without stopping—a story which, apart from its utter falsehood, serves to belittle our own men. The Reds fight doggedly, they defend every inch of the ground and, when they fall, they die with courage. They were born of this blessed land that strengthens muscles and tempers the heart ; they were born beneath this blazing Spanish sun of ours that kindles the passions and makes them impetuous—born in Spain, they are Spaniards and therefore brave. (*Cheers.*)

There they would see, these cold men—and perhaps it would make them think—that when the Blue soldier, always gallant, meets the Red soldier, who is also gallant, he opens his arms to him and in their embrace these two begin to understand each other, and maybe they guess the presence of their near and common enemy, and at the front itself, on this blood-soaked Spanish earth, they experience the need to unite.

It is a year to-day, comrades, since the *Caudillo** with keen political intelligence, decreed the union of all true Spaniards. But for this to be more than the dead letter of a decree, more than a mere page in the *Gazette*, it will have to be based on firm and solid foundations, it must be endowed with human warmth, it must be quickened by love.

Social Justice

Firm and solid foundations. The first, the most urgent of all, though it may not be the most important, is social justice—a generous social justice. So right is it, so reasonable that the Spaniards who are conquering Spain with their life's blood, the sweat of their brows, the ache in their hearts and the sorrow of their souls, should afterwards enjoy the Spain which they have won, and which contains nothing of their own, that indeed it admits of no argument.

The *Caudillo* has promised that there shall be bread and warmth in every home. He is a man of determination and a Spanish gentleman of his word. All who fight and suffer on the several fronts feel the same, and the immense majority behind the lines holds that

**Leader*

opinion too. Social justice there shall be. The only point to be discussed is the measure of its generosity—but bear in mind that the warrior who is fighting for Spain without any possessions of his own to defend, if he returns home and finds his elementary needs neglected, will demand justice of his fellow-men, and, should they refuse to listen to him, he will call on Heaven for justice. And I am positive than Heaven will grant that he take it into his own hands. . . . (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the new Spain it will suffice to be a Spaniard, an honest man and willing to work, for all essential needs to be fulfilled—without the fear that unemployment or sickness or old age will lead to utmost poverty. In the new Spain the bearing of many sons will be a blessing from on high rather than, as hitherto, a curse of the devil. . . .

In the new Spain there will be no drones, no invited guests. The Phalanx has never allowed them—but now they are more than ever unwanted. It would be criminal for us to let parasites batten on the weary body of anguished Spain, increasing her distress and prolonging the lengthy convalescence which our country will have to undergo after giving her blood so freely and magnanimously.

After the War

. . . The war will soon be over, my friends, and then all must get to work. To work—each man with his first requirements assured. It is quite possible that the powerful will have to give up a part of their wealth ; but this, if they are right-minded, they must willingly do, realising simply that if the Reds had won they would have lost everything, for, if those who are in Red territory have lost the whole of their possessions, it is not too much to ask of these gentlemen that they should surrender a little of what they have for the benefit of those who are risking their lives to defend them and their fortunes. . . . (*Loud cheers.*)

. . . But if we build our happiness on love of our country and its greatness, the more ambitious we are for her, the greater and richer and stronger and finer we wish her to be, the happier shall we ourselves be. We shall live contented, we shall know that she will not attain to the perfection we desire for her in our lifetime ; but no matter, we will labour unceasingly that our children and grandchildren may reach that goal as speedily as possible. Then,

gentlemen, our single destiny will have become a fact, real unity will have been achieved without need of any law or regulations or anything, and love of country will have joined all Spaniards together in a common effort, a common sacrifice—even unto death, if necessary.

These are the roots from which unification must spring, in order that it may bear the fruit desired by our Leader and by every one of us. Social justice—genuine justice, patriotic fervour, the spirit of self-sacrifice, and a military and heroic attitude to life.

The Necessity of Mercy

But that is not enough. To imbue this unity with living warmth, to make it truly felt and cherished in every home, we must forgive —above all, forgive. There are thousands and thousands of men languishing in prison, comrades. Why are they there? Because they belonged to some political party or syndicate. Among them there are many who are hard-working and honourable and who, with a very slight effort, with a little kindness, could be won over to our cause. There are many of their number who were inveigled or forced into subscribing to some revolutionary trade union. I do not think that this is a worse offence than was committed by those bankers and businessmen who gave their advertisements and their money to the Socialist newspapers. (*Applause.*)

We must be merciful, comrades. We must be large-hearted and know how to forgive. We are strong and can afford that gesture; but, above all, we must follow the *Caudillo's* ordinances. Many months ago our Leader promised the Reds—and he continues to make and to fulfil the promise—that those of them who are innocent of any common crime can come over to our lines, surrender their arms, and find among us peace and pardon.

Now, if that is how we treat men who for twenty months have been fighting against us in the field, what law, what justice is it that keeps these people still in gaol for the sole crime, already forgiven by the *Caudillo*, of having belonged to some political society? Have these men been guilty of a graver offence than those who have been shooting at us for the past twenty months? And if we do not set them free, will they not suspect that we forgive those others because we are afraid of them?

I am asking the authorities to re-examine dossiers and crime-

sheets, to look into these men's previous records and release them, that they may bring back confidence and calm into their homes, and that we may begin to cast out hatred ; so that when we come to preach all the fine tenets of our creed, we shall not be confronted with sceptical smiles and even looks of loathing—for it is clear that bitter resentment is bound to be harboured in the bosom of a family which, although guiltless, has had one of its members sent to prison.

And if I ask pardon for these misguided or contaminated individuals, enemies of mine that were, comrades of mine to be, you can imagine with what fervour, with what humility and anxiety I shall plead for those Blueshirts of the old guard who, if they are in prison, must be there because—undoubtedly—they have erred, yet did so in good faith. These companions of ours were already pardoned by the *Caudillo*, with his unfailing honesty and kindness, when the National Council was formed.

They are now awaiting the reconsideration of their cases. I beg the responsible officials not to sleep, not to rest until they have investigated afresh the charges against them. Let them remember that those Blueshirts in gaol are the men who, when Spain lay writhing under every indignity, sprang to her aid rousing others with the call of " Arriba España ! " (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) They are the men who, when Spain's sufferings were greatest, proved that they had most love for her, hazarding their lives and liberty in her defence—for which they have already been subjected to imprisonment and persecution.

NEW DEAL FABLE

Once upon a time, there was a farmer who sold two chickens. With the proceeds he bought two shirts.

So the farmer had two shirts and a city man had two chickens.

Then came along the New Deal, and told the farmer he should get more money for his chickens by making them scarcer . . . he must not raise so many, and then he would get more income. The New Deal also told the working man in the city that he must work fewer hours and get more money for making fewer shirts. That, of course, caused shirts to cost more.

Then the farmer brought one chicken to market. He got as much money for it as he had previously gotten for two chickens. He felt fine. He wanted to buy some shirts, but he found that shirts had also doubled in price. So he got one shirt.

Now the farmer had one shirt, and the city man had one chicken, whereas without the New Deal, the farmer could have had two shirts and the city man could have had two chickens.

This, boys and girls, is called " the more abundant life."—*The Detroiter.*

VIENNA IS NO LONGER WHAT IT USED TO BE

From Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin, 5.7.38

Many details have appeared in the British Press about the disillusions experienced in Austria since the annexation. They have been met by unconvincing Nazi denials going so far as to claim that Jewish shopkeepers have thrown all their stock into the street and have then got themselves photographed for propaganda purposes. Here Dr. Silex, the able Editor of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," gives a more reasonable and reasoned account of the difficulties which the German Government has to overcome

ISN'T that a pity? Vienna is no longer what it used to be. Dear old Vienna; well, it has ceased to exist. The experts whisper it to each other with knowing looks; with long faces people speak of the good old times; and in the English Press appear letters from people who write for or against travel to Austria. Some want to boycott Austria; others want to demonstrate their unchangeable sympathy for "the ill-treated Austrian people" by parading the English number-plates of their cars condescendingly on the Austrian roads. Only a few sensible persons advise a trip to Austria so that as many English people as possible may gain their own impressions of the situation, instead of being taken in by tales of atrocities. Whether for or against—they are all unanimous on one point: that Vienna is no longer what it used to be, and in this respect we entirely agree with them. Perhaps the rumour has at last got round that Vienna was not meant to remain what it used to be.

The Need for Change

There are various opinions as to what Vienna used to be. The musical comedy conception of this city, of the whole Austrian scene, was full of charm, and the human reality was usually even more charming. But there were other realities. A people, suppressed and violated under the terms of the Peace, exhausting itself in internal conflicts, without opportunities for work, without future; a metropolis which tried to hide many an inner untruth under a cosmopolitan veneer. A capital which was less suited to the German people in

Austria than globe-trotters can comprehend. Now we have brought about the *Anschluss* of Vienna. Nobody has ever disguised the fact that Vienna did not come up to the ideal of a German town in the Third Reich. Vienna must not remain what it was. Austria has, after all, had a revolution, but that is easily or frivolously forgotten or overlooked. In a few days and weeks she had to catch up with a five years' start. We well remember the time when the old forms —unfortunately only in the old Reich at first—were broken up, although the new forms, which were to take their place, were not quite ready. We remember the doubts and scruples which were then current in the old Reich. We saw that mistakes were being made and acknowledged ; that not every experiment was successful ; but that not every experiment was stubbornly pursued. We in Germany know very well that there have to be rifts and cracks in times of revolution, and we can only smile if anyone tries to take us to account for the rifts and cracks in Austria.

The foreign Press has been swamped by a flood of false reports on Austria. Those who pretend to understand these things, or

THE JEWS IN VIENNA
Before——

Der Stürmer, Nürnberg
——and after the Anschluss.

even more, to criticise them, will have to base their conclusions on certain fundamental principles : firstly, Germany will not rest until the fresh breeze has penetrated Austria and the German people who live there ; secondly, it is not news for us to be told that the inclusion of Austria into the Reich sets a task in many respects more difficult than the return of the Saar district ; and, thirdly, Austria with the rejuvenated city of Vienna will be led towards the fulfilment of her destiny as the Ostmark, the Eastern Province.

Anybody who has any experience of revolutions will not be perturbed by the information that a dozen of self-appointed commissars have moved (or, rather, have been moved) from Vienna to the concentration camp at Dachau. When the Reich Commissar arrived in Vienna, these commissars were already there. It was quite natural, even necessary, that, during the first days of the revolution, there should have been men in readiness who, on their own initiative and without regular orders from above, concerned themselves with the continuation of business enterprises. Some who felt the call were unsuitable and stumbled over matters of accountancy. The achievements and merits of the others are all the more praiseworthy. August 1st will see the disappearance of the entire system of commissars in so far as it was unregulated. Buerckel is no respecter of persons, and many a foreign government would feel privileged to have such a man at its disposal when a task of this kind suddenly presents itself and has to be tackled. There are not twenty thousand, nor sixty thousand political prisoners in Austria, but 3,780, including those that are Jews. The subject of political prisoners leads us to the second of the above-mentioned points.

More Formidable than the Saar

The inclusion of Austria is naturally a more formidable task than the return of the Saar. It is for that reason that it is so valuable that the Reich Commissar has all the experience which his previous task has given him. The fight which the Saar fought was directed against outside forces. It is true that there were a few emigrants and communists in the district, but that did not constitute any difficulties because these elements left hurriedly over night. In Austria, however, there raged an internal fight during the last five

years. Internal conflicts are distinguished by greater bitterness; Spain is the example. That Austria has, after all, been spared the fate of Spain is, apart from the aggrandisement of the Reich, an additional claim to Adolf Hitler's fame. But whereas with the return of the Saar the internal political history that went before could be reckoned as almost entirely liquidated, with one stroke, Austria has remained burdened with the memory of the five unhappy years. With the exception of the escape of some of the ring-leaders, the German people of Austria came to us, such as they are, united with us by the common stock, but divided by memory. It is not the economic task which presents the greatest difficulties (although that side of the *Anschluss* does already present more problems than the return of the Saar which had always belonged to the Prussian–German economic and administrative sphere). These problems are being solved by a programme of facts, which has been drawn up authoritatively and is being carried out with the utmost effort by the rank and file. This comradeship of work contributes much towards spread-

L'Ordre, Paris

CHORUS OF AUSTRIAN NAZIS

"Oh, how lovely the Anschluss was, till March the eleventh this year!"

ing the fresh breeze, but it is, of course, not sufficient. Buerckel does not need to be taught from abroad that his position is not always easy. How could it be, with such a task before him? He does not insist that everything has been accomplished, but he has been able to state in Graz that the people of the Ostmark "make the greatest possible efforts" these days to become faithful vassals of Hitler. The way to this fellowship will not remain permanently closed to anyone, not even to former opponents. Of the entirely hopeless cases there can be, in Buerckel's opinion, "probably only a very limited number."

To make the greatest possible effort—nobody can ask more from anyone.

Germans in Austria

We only find it ridiculous if someone discovers that the positions have not all been filled correctly, or that there are rival candidates in various groups. We are told that there are too many Germans from the Old Reich. In this respect, too, things are naturally more complicated than they were with the Saar. There, old warriors did not have to leave their country in masses, and there could be no question as to who had acquired greater rights—the illegitimate fighters within the country or those who had been driven abroad. The hunt for posts is always an evil, but if anyone has risked his life, his health, or his post in the fight, then his claims do not necessarily come under the heading of "evil"; yet there remains the conflict between wish and requirements, because certain posts demand certain abilities, and no-one will deny that there is a certain amount of "discontent"—it is all too human to be mistaken about one's capabilities. To try to accomplish the *Anschluss* without any influx from the North would have been a piece of stupidity almost bordering on a crime against the people. If, during this process, any of us from the North are infected by the Viennese attitude to life, we shall not be displeased, and all well-meaning critics of Prussianism in the world should also be pleased.

We now come to third point. If people abroad spread rumours of our wickedness—why this anger? To have re-established the old German Ostmark on the Danube has without a doubt strengthened our influence, enlarged our "sphere." Those who recount the

difficulties to us, would like to see us wrecked on them. Only when the Foreign Press has resigned itself to the new German position, will it have any chance of becoming objective. As long as that is not the case we can, at any rate, not consider it as objective. At every opportunity we are shown how far Europe still is from acknowledging the new German position on the Continent. Hardly has England granted a loan of 16 million pounds to Turkey, when everywhere the English Press demands that the same method be employed all over Europe in order to counteract the threatening German penetration. Even the Sanjak Treaty between Turkey and France has had to serve as a pretext in the French Press to make the public appreciate it as a bolt against German expansion towards the East.

If only Vienna had remained what it used to be!

AIR REARMAMENT.

"Those are your colleagues to-day, Madam."

Die Brennessel, Berlin

CZECHOSLOVAK STRENGTH
A Hard Nut to Crack

by COLONEL STANISLAV YESTER

From "New Masses," New York, 21.6.38

Colonel Yester is a member of the Czechoslovak General Staff and a professor at the Military Academy in Prague. He is the author of many works on the problems of national defence and the wars in Spain, China and Ethiopia. For obvious reasons, Colonel Yester has used German sources of Czech army strength, as he says, "for guidance." It is revealing no confidence, however, according to the Editor of "New Masses," to add that the German estimates do not represent the full ability of the Czechoslovakian defence machine

LIKE Switzerland, Czechoslovakia is a continental state. It lies as far from the Baltic as from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In size, it is thirteenth of the twenty-seven European states. In 1938 its total population was 15,500,000 which places it eighth in Europe. Its powerful industry ranks Czechoslovakia immediately after Italy in Central Europe in this respect.

The fact that Czechoslovakia lies along the water-shed of the Sudeten and Carpathian Mountains—where the West Slavs, under the pressure of the Germans from the west and the Mongols from the south, were alone able to hold out—has given it a peculiarly elongated form and a very long frontier. At its widest point, Czechoslovakia measures 188 miles across, but it is nearly 625 miles long. More than half of its frontier borders on Germany. With its ally of the Little Entente, Rumania, it has a common frontier of 94 miles at its extreme eastern end. Germany, which is four times as large as Czechoslovakia and to-day has almost five times the population, surrounds Western Czechoslovakia far more completely than Russian Poland was enclosed before the war by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Czechoslovakia can be involved in war against Germany on the west and Hungary on the south. Against Hungary, the country is protected by the treaties of alliance between the states of the Little

Entente. Against a German attack, it is protected by the treaties with France and the Soviet Union.

A military clash with Hungary is improbable. Against Hungary alone Czechoslovakia has a double superiority.

The Odds

A conflict with Germany is something different, for Germany is many times stronger than Czechoslovakia and, furthermore, encloses half of Czechoslovakia as though with mighty jaws. It goes without saying, therefore, that the Czechoslovak General Staff and government are exerting themselves to create the best possible military, political and economic conditions for a *temporary* struggle against superior force.

This superior force will, at the beginning, have to be met by the Czech forces both on land and in the air. The Czech air force and air-defence forces must expect a number of difficult days until the aerial assistance of our French and Russian allies arrives and gives us superiority in the air for the continuation of the struggle. The land forces, as a matter of fact, will have to stick it out some weeks longer before the allied armies push forward into German territory and force the German high command to turn its main forces against them. The decisive battle, *which will begin on the Rhine in the third or fourth week of the war*, will transform the Czechoslovak battle area into a second-rate area.

Czechoslovakia must therefore reckon with the following facts : (1) two or three days of resistance against superior forces in the air and on the land ; (2) two or three weeks of resistance against superior force on land.

There will, of course, be no declaration of war. The enemy will attempt, through a sudden attack by fast army units and air squadrons, to break through our frontier defences and to render our mobilisation and concentration of troops impossible.

Germany's Two Fronts

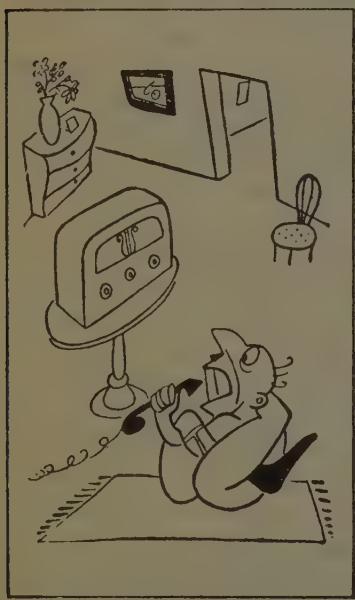
Germany with three fronts—the Franco–British western front, the Czech–Polish–Russian eastern front, and the Italian–Yugoslav southern front—will attempt, on the one hand, to demoralise each of these fronts politically, and on the other, to dominate them in

a military way. In actual fact, in a war against Czechoslovakia, Germany will have two fronts : a western front, France, and an eastern front, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

If there were no air armies to-day, 1914 and a new edition of the Schlieffen Plan would be repeated : an offensive in the West and a defensive in the East. In 1914, Austria-Hungary wanted to make a punitive expedition against Serbia, but the Russian intervention turned Serbia into a second-rate scene of operations. For Austria-Hungary, the Russian front became the principal theatre of operations ; for that was the direction from which powerful forces threatened to break into the empire.

Czechoslovakia as an Air-base

Aerial warfare, however, has changed certain formerly valid conditions. Attacks by the land forces gain new bases for the air armies. The Czechoslovakian area, which protrudes like a wedge



Prager Presse

MORNING JERKS

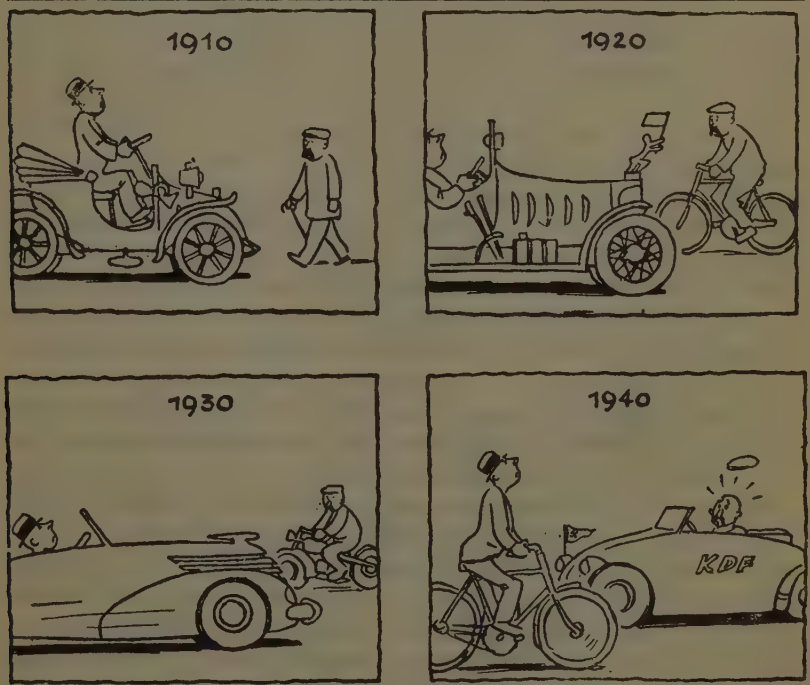
"Excuse me, what was the end of Exercise Two?"

Marianne

"Shocking extravagance ! A lipstick only lasts her a day !"

into the German Reich, represents a splendid offensive air-base, lying right in the middle of the German area. If, therefore, as far as land armies are concerned, the present eastern front is the less dangerous one for Germany (the Czechoslovakian army being too weak and the Russian too far away), nevertheless, *in respect to air attacks the opposite is true.* That is why, before the main land operations begin, the question of the " airplane carrier " in the heart of Germany, that is, the question of Czechoslovakia, must be solved.

The German General Staff will exert itself, as quickly as possible, to capture the air bases in the western part of Czechoslovakia before the clash of the main forces of the two coalitions occurs. The Czechoslovak General Staff, on the other hand, will do its part to resist the first attack of a superior force against the air bases in the western district—that is, to gain time.



Das Schwarze Korps

SNOB'S PROGRESS: a skit on the development of German workers' cars.

We know, from the experience of the World War, that a well-organised defence can resist successfully a double superiority of attack. At that time, the larger tactical units were not so lavishly provided with automatic weapons as to-day. If, in land fortification, a double superiority of force can be successfully resisted, to break through those fortifications would require more than a double superiority. An attack against such fortifications cannot proceed without very thorough preparations.

The Problems of Defence

Czechoslovakia, with half of its area enclosed by Germany, has had to solve a number of complicated defence problems : (1) She must prevent a sudden land and air attack. (2) After resisting this attack, she must prevent new attacks by land and air which would throw her mobilisation arrangements into disorder. (3) During the period of troop concentration, which will already be protected by the allied air forces, Czechoslovakia must make sure its land forces are not divided and that the troops in Bohemia and West Moravia are not encircled and cut off from Slovakia.

Although Czechoslovakia is able to call every man capable of bearing arms to the colours, there is the possibility that the mobilisation might come too late and that, in the meantime, the German jaws would close on Eastern Bohemia. It was for this reason that the Czechoslovakian General Staff assumed as its main problem the question of preserving continuous connection between the Western and Eastern commands. This was achieved by the construction of excellent fortifications along the north and south borders of Moravia. These fortifications will have to hold out for weeks, not only for days.

The remaining frontiers are so fortified that they can hold out as long as the mobilisation and concentration of troops are in progress. At the same time, all the frontier fortifications are so arranged that they can serve as points of support for the army once it is mobilised and concentrated. Thus, just as in 1914, the French frontier fortifications on the Marne protected the eastern flank of the French army, so will the frontier fortifications in Moravia and Eastern Bohemia protect the flank and rear of the Czechoslovakian troops against an attack from the west. One advantage of this will be that during this

period of the conflict, Czechoslovakia, combined with its allies, will already have achieved superiority.

The latest German figures give France an air strength this year of 5,000 ; Czechoslovakia, 1,400 ; Soviet Union, 9,000. It is therefore no exaggeration to assume that approximately 3,000 Soviet machines will come to the direct assistance of Czechoslovakia. Since the modern median-bomber is approximately equal to a long-range gun in battle, this in itself would be a highly important addition to our volume of fire.

Supported by their frontier fortifications and a powerful allied air force, the Czechoslovak army will attempt to manoeuvre so that it is not surrounded and, at the same time, as far as possible, to protect its own area from the enemy attack. The execution of these tasks will be assisted by the mountainous character of Czechoslovakia. In many districts there are very great natural impediments to fast-moving attacking units, and wherever the terrain is easily passable, fortifications are already established.

Czechoslovakia's Strength

For reasons which will be understood, I cannot give exact data of the strength of our armed forces. I quote, for guidance, figures taken from German military papers.

According to the German specialists, our peace-time army numbered 180,000 men. On mobilisation 1,500,000 well-trained soldiers could be called to the colours. Since our air army is principally designed for defensive purposes (we leave the offensive tasks to our allies), the air army is a part of the land forces as in the United States, and not an independent air force. The Germans assert that the mountain and cavalry brigades can be counted as divisions ; hence, the peace time army of Czechoslovakia represents twenty-two divisions, which would be approximately doubled by mobilisation.

The majority of German military experts are agreed that Czechoslovakia could put forty well-armed divisions into the field.

Czechoslovakia has inherited 75 per cent of the heavy industry of the old Austria-Hungary. In the World War, Austria-Hungary provided, from its own industry, an army of about ninety divisions. Czechoslovakia can support not only forty division from its own industry but also at least thirty divisions of its allies.

Assuming that the enemy is able to damage or seize a part of our industry, there will, nevertheless, remain a very large economic and productive basis, especially since, in the last few years, the most important branches of industry have been moved from the dangerous frontier-areas far into the hinterland.

By virtue of a far-reaching law for the defence of the state, government agencies in time of emergency will take over control of all branches of industry essential for the national defence. This permits us to be confident of the proper mobilisation of the war industries. As far as foodstuffs are concerned, Czechoslovakia is self-supporting in grain, meat, sugar and alcohol and has, in fact far more than it needs of the latter two. Oil will be imported from Rumania.

Already in the World War, the Czechoslovak armament industry, especially the Skoda works, were dangerous competitors of the German industry. The 30.5 cannon produced by Skoda was superior in its operations and effectiveness to the well-known 42-cm. gun of the Germans, the Big Bertha. Thanks to its excellent industry, the Czechoslovak army is the best armed in Central Europe, next to the German and Italian. In 1935 its light machine-gun, under the Bren patent, was imported into England. According to German figures of March, 1938, the Czechoslovak army has more heavy guns than the Polish (450 against 420) and only fifty less than the United States. Moreover, the whole of our heavy artillery is motorized. The German military paper, *Deutsche Wehr*, asserts that in war-time the Czechoslovak army will have 400 mortars, 1,500 light field-guns and 600 heavy guns.

The Germans assert that we have 9,000 light and 3,500 heavy machine-guns and approximately 400 tanks, made and produced in our own works. The arming and maintenance of the army since 1919 has cost a total of 50,000,000,000 kronen. Half of this was used in the last five years for state defence measures. The ordinary military budget for 1938 amounts to 2,100,000,000 kronen and the extraordinary budget to 2,400,000,000 kronen. The total state budget for 1938 is 10,000,000,000 kronen.

Our own industry has not only provided the army with its equipment, up to the heaviest field-guns, but it has also provided our aerial armament. According to German estimates of February of this year we had 1,350 airplanes, divided as follows : 320 recon-

naissance planes ; 130 fighters ; 180 pursuit planes ; 120 daytime bombers ; 130 night bombers. According to the same German figures there are 90 squadrons, each with between 10 and 14 machines. The heavy machines are constructed under French licenses ; all the light machines are of our own construction. The engines are also of our own production under the Walter patent. The number of aerodromes is estimated by the Germans as 66.

Immediate and Total Mobilisation

The Germans, for example the late von Ludendorff, teach us that the so-called *successive* mobilisations of war materials is wrong. War ought to be prepared in advance for a definite prearranged moment and, at that moment, one must go into the struggle with the maximum of all forces. In 1914 the Germans took the field with 120 divisions. In the course of the following three years, they doubled this number through the mobilisation of their total war potentials. According to the new theory, the Germans would have to raise 240 divisions right at the beginning of the war. Such an arming demands quite exceptional economic preparations and a great straining of financial and moral forces. Some articles in German military papers disclose that the Germans would like to be able to put 300 divisions in the field. We know that a modern tactical unit requires a large working hinterland. An army of 300 divisions needs 6,000,000 men in the field and 12,000,000 workers in the hinterland.

Although we are not ourselves partisans of total war, we must nevertheless take measures in advance against an enemy which will employ the methods of total war. Therefore, our state defence law puts all civilian men up to sixty and women from seventeen to fifty in the service of national defence. The aim is to free as far as possible all trained men for the front. The pre-military education which begins with six-year-old boys and ends at twenty, before the beginning of military service, facilitates training and offers large reserves for work in the hinterland and for air-raid defence. In war, the president of the republic is the supreme commander of the armed forces. The government appoints the commander-in-chief of the armies in the field. From a political-strategic point of view, the war is directed by the Supreme Council of National Defence, in which the principal ministers and the prime minister are represented. The economic

organ of the Supreme Council is the Ministry of Economy, which will represent, in the widest sense, a ministry of munitions.

The Czechoslovak General Staff is proceeding with defensive preparations, by which its main object is to strengthen the defence against attacks from the air and to carry out the widest possible motorization. Motorization permits a quick answer to attacks and the speedy shifting of reserves.

Every one of our citizens is aware of the difficult position in which our country stands. They remember the fate of Belgium and Serbia in the World War ; they know the fate of Rumania in 1916. They believe, nevertheless, in the final victory ; for final victory is always on the side of the strongest battalions, and the strongest battalions are on the side of our allies.

CHINESE HORSE MAKES FASHION

Before I finish I want to tell you of my last day in China, about a year ago, when I saw there the one and only specimen of millinery. We don't wear hats in China, you know, but this was a marvellous thing with a high crown and a brim and lovely red flowers on it, and it was being worn by—a horse ! Well, imagine my amazement when I arrived back in San Francisco and found all the fashionable ladies wearing exactly the same kind of hat.—*Miss Rose Quong, addressing the China Society, London.*

UNION ! " At last, a cabinet capable of uniting all Frenchmen ! "

IS ENGLAND AGEING?

by KURT VON STUTTERHEIM (*London Correspondent*)

From the "Berliner Tageblatt," 9.6.38

OLD nations, like old men, in their days of decline, face themselves with the question, how much longer is life likely to be granted them? In this respect England is no exception, conscious as she is of having reached the apex of her power, from which no further ascent is possible. But how long can this peak position be maintained, now that England has lost so many advantages of her former history, such as her insularity and her industrial lead? Will the coming generations of Englishmen be strong enough to keep up with young, fresh nations? In other words, do the English show symptoms of exhaustion?

It is a sign of the times, how often this question crops up in conversations with Englishmen. They grant unreservedly that England would not have recovered from a defeat such as that of 1918 as rapidly as Germany, while France would probably not have survived a similar collapse at all. Twenty years after Versailles, England sees the French victors shaken by internal confusion. In Paris a ruling class of parliamentarians and Stock Exchange operators manoeuvre up and down, without being capable of giving the country any lasting balance. Nevertheless, the French people remains healthy. On the fields of France a hard, tough peasant race is at work, which has not forgotten the virtues of its fathers. In the same way, the French industrial worker can stand comparison with any other in the world. Even the much-discussed French birth-rate figures are not bad, and would be still better if France were to reduce infant mortality by improving national hygiene. If signs of decadence are to be observed anywhere in France it is in the upper levels. The foundation is very firm, as every fresh crisis shows.

Strength of the Middle Class

Quite a different state of affairs exists in England, which has known how to keep her upper classes efficient by means of constantly bringing in fresh blood, quite apart from the political and social

sense of responsibility which has remained inherent in them. Pleasantly though the Englishman may arrange his life, the rich idler is a much rarer phenomenon here than in, say, Russia, Austria or Italy of pre-war days. An additional factor is that the women of these circles, too, in spite of all their pleasure-hunting, take part actively in the life of the nation. There is hardly any political or social organisation in England, in which women do not show astonishing activity.

Here and there a clique of spoilt young men may be absorbed in aesthetic trifling, but generalisations should not be made from them. For every over-bred dandy there are dozens of men who are doing excellent work in the army, in parliament, the City or out in the colonies. Just as in the days of Queen Victoria, the well-off middle

Churchill on the warpath against Germany: "England expects me to produce another Dardanelles."

"Die Brennessel," Berlin.

class, which merges into the nobility, forms the backbone of the nation.

England's foundation, on the other hand, is in worse case than France's. In this country the early change-over to pasture, together with centuries of emigration of farmers overseas, has led to a thinning-out of the native peasant element, which every sensible Englishman regards with deep anxiety. In the South, particularly, a peasant family in the Continental sense has become a rarity. Instead of working on the family farm, the peasant girl is serving cakes and lemonade in a near-by tea-room, while her brother is occupied on a sports ground or at a filling-station. The North is less urbanised, but here agriculture suffers from being badly paid. Industry needs cheap foodstuffs, while the Dominions make their purchase of English foods dependent on their being allowed to flood England with their food products. In consequence, even a government well-disposed to farmers cannot do much more than prevent the further decline of agriculture ; hopes of its recovery have been almost given up.

The Toll of Urbanism

How does it stand then with the industrial worker, to whom England is sacrificing her peasantry ? From the end of the eighteenth century on, industry in England has claimed a disproportionately large part of the population, with the result that whole sections have already been industrialised to the fourth or fifth generation. What this means from the hygienic point of view can be ascertained in any old-established industrial city, and not least in London, where one can practically measure to the inch whose cradle rocked in the West, and whose in the East End. It is among the peculiarities of England, that the well-built, athletic Englishman belongs in nine cases out of ten to the upper classes. Although height and vitality are not synonymous—the London Cockney was among the best soldiers of the World War—it cannot be disputed that long industrialisation is beginning to take its toll, and this all the more since no fresh blood is being brought into the town population from a peasantry.

Serious though this urbanisation of the English people is, its effects are alleviated by a number of factors. In the first place, England, apart from rheumatism, is a healthy country. The tuberculosis figures for England are, for instance, less than Italy's. In

addition, the sporting activities of all classes has its effect, as well as the efforts, made possible by modern means of transport, to spend week-ends in the open air. But, above all, the English have learnt the secret of husbanding their strength, which they injure neither by overwork nor heated arguments. The peaceful course of English life is a source of strength to England, which has been able to maintain her people's good nerves even in the agitated world of to-day. In consequence, England is never stronger than in times of crisis.

Britain's Belief in Herself

It is another question how things will be after two or three more generations. Possibly the shrinkage in its solid peasant substance, the decline in its birth-rate, and its lack of capacity to supply the Dominions with immigrants will then cause the World Empire to be faced with serious difficulties. On the other hand, it would be wrong to-day to build on the theory that the end of its ascent must coincide with the beginning of its descent. A conservative people like the English can also conserve their power, particularly if it has fashioned, in centuries of hard work, a framework of life which is firm enough to defy many a storm. England's weakness should not be overlooked, but no more should her strength—her responsible upper class, her efficient and tough middle class, the healthy commonsense of her working class, and, as joint asset of the whole nation, the conviction of possessing a mission, which only England can fulfil. Only when the English lose this belief in themselves will shadow fall over the World Empire. But that day is not yet.

THE OLDEST NEWSPAPER IN THE WORLD

Peiping Bao, the oldest newspaper in the world, which has been appearing for 1,500 years, has just been suppressed. This newspaper was founded in 400 A.D. by Sou-Choung, and was printed up to the time of its disappearance with wooden type.

In the course of centuries 1,500 editors of the *Peiping Bao* have been beheaded.

After their occupation of Pekin, the Japanese banned this paper. Then they allowed it to appear again, but as the *Peiping Bao* remained faithful to its ancient tradition they have now suppressed it once and for all.—*L'Ere Nouvelle, Paris.*

CHEERS FOR ALCOHOL!

Wheat for Shells

by MARCEL LAYRAC

From " La République," Paris

CHEERS for alcohol! Not, of course, the kind that is drunk. I will say nothing in favour of that kind, since I am afraid to rouse the anger of temperance societies, nor too much against it, for fear of annoying the many who produce or sell it.

The alcohol which interests me and which I intend to praise is the kind which is used by internal combustion engines.

Here is what I have just read in an official communiqué:

> " The Minister of Agriculture has been authorised to prepare a decree law to modify the law of 1931 concerning alcohol. It will have a double object. On the one hand it will aim at increasing the stock of alcohol necessary for national defence; on the other, to reabsorb the excess wheat harvest."

For we are " menaced " by an abundant wheat harvest. Since the consumption of flour and bread is diminishing, we must export an important part of our excess production. But, because of the collapse of the world market, a quintal of wheat is worth 90 francs

" When you've extracted the petrol from the wheat, couldn't you make a sort of synthetic flour out of the petrol?"

" Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

in Chicago, less than half what it costs in France. Even if the State allows special prices for exportation there would still be a considerable loss involved, for the foreigner would not want to pay more for our wheat than he would have to pay in the world market.

But here is where distilled alcohol comes in. Alcohol will be made out of wheat, so the excessive wheat will be reabsorbed.

> "The distilling of excess harvests has been practiced for many years with wine and beet. Thanks to this method it has been possible to assure a certain stability in price and production for these two essential products of our agriculture. The same policy must be used for wheat."

All the same we shall have a great deal of alcohol made from wine, beetroot and wheat. Shall we not have too much?

Not at all! Moreover this possibility has been foreseen. For we have many other demands to satisfy.

> "The war services have a continual need of alcohol, for the manufacture of powder as well as to constitute a stock of fuel, composed of a constant mixture of petrol and alcohol for motorised units."

If there is too much wheat, wine and beet, alcohol will be made from them. And if there is too much alcohol they will make powder out of it. You must admit that all this is simply marvellous!

Wheat will save the franc, said M. Chéron. Wheat will save France, we say, since wheat brings us fuel for our motorised units and explosives for our shells.

When Mr. Roosevelt has too much wheat he stores it, for he could not spend money in making, at great expense, a chemical substitute for the petrol which his country possesses in such great abundance. We have little petrol. All the better, since that allows us to have neither too much wheat, nor too much wine nor too much beet.

SHOWS YOU HOW

Every journalist worthy of the name must have thrilled with pride at the news which hummed over the wires from Rome last week.

Average birth-rate for all professions—excepting journalism—in Italy is 22 per 1,000. But is that good enough for your newspapermen? No, sir, it is not!

Last year your Italian confrères, spurred on by Mussolini's offer of prizes for journalist-fathers, achieved the astonishing figure of 80 per 1,000.

And the prizes, which were to have lasted for several years, have been exhausted in 15 months.

Think of that, you carpers, when next you decry the regimentation of the Press. Where did freedom get *you*?—*World's Press News, London.*

DISUNITED CANADA
Fascism in Quebec

From a Canadian Correspondent

ONE frequently reads or hears that " Canadian opinion is . . ." or " Canada's position is . . ." etc., giving the impression that Canada may be regarded as a one-minded unit, and there could be little objection to such statements if a majority of the people felt or thought along the lines indicated. It is worth remembering that this may be far from the truth. In a country whose vast extent brings so many different problems it is inevitable that there should be great differences among the people on many points. This is particularly true of a young, sparsely settled country.

From many points of view Canada cannot be regarded as a whole. The political viewpoint is one of these. On the contrary, one is forced to regard it as the sum of the Maritime provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces and British Columbia. Stretching more than three thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Canada possesses not only a wide variety of geographic and climatic conditions but also a very varied population. Consider the effect of this if the electoral mind has to be made up in the event of Britain being involved in a major war. Approximately eighty-five per cent. of the population of the province of Quebec is French, and the Roman Catholic Church has very definite views on the question of war. No little trouble was experienced on this point in the World War, and Quebec, it must be remembered, is the second most populous province in the Dominion.

The Prairie provinces contain a substantial proportion of lives of Central European origin, many of whom have been in Canada for less than a generation. British Columbia, moreover, contains a good number of Japanese.

There are other reasons why so many differences of opinion exist across the Dominion. One of the most important lies in the nine provincial governments which this much-governed country supports in addition to the Federal government. Bickering and doubt can easily arise, and have arisen, as to the precise point where provincial jurisdiction ends and Federal jurisdiction begins. Take the case of

unemployment relief. A city may complain that the economic depression has caused an influx of the unemployed and unemployable. When the city authorities seek some solution with the province, the provincial government may pass the responsibility on to the Federal government ; and so it goes on till finally some compromise is reached. While this confusion exists no real co-ordination of the Provinces is possible. At the present time a Royal Commission is investigating Dominion-Provincial relations. It is to be hoped that the Commission will succeed in making the necessary recommendations and that these will be implemented. Until this has been done no really national policy can be developed.

But not only does the present Dominion-Provincial confusion prevent national unity. In addition it would seem that, as a result, the provincial governments are assuming responsibilities which they were never intended to assume. Mr. Aberhart and Alberta need no mention here. A more recent example is to be found in Quebec, where the situation at present is disturbing, to say the least.

The Racial Issue

It is perhaps natural, in this day of racialism and economic nationalism, that the racial cry should once more be heard in Quebec. When the Liberal Taschereau regime was beaten at the polls by Duplessis after an unbroken period of almost forty years of Liberalism (really die-hard Conservatism), Premier Duplessis and his government went to work with a very new broom and uncovered many items which certainly did no credit to the former regime. The platform of the Duplessis government is none too clear, but vigour and enthusiasm are two of its characteristics. Whatever the reason, the phrases "Quebec for the French," "secession" and "autonomous republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence" were being heard for some time. Electioneering, of course, is much the same all the world over and it is only natural that many French-Canadians should be willing to listen to the old doctrine that they are being exploited by the English in their own Province of Quebec.

The situation has now taken a new turn. Some time ago students (French) of the University of Montreal staged a demonstration before the Mayor of Montreal and made it clear that if a certain Communist meeting were permitted they would wreck it. Instead

of providing ample police protection the Mayor simply gave orders that the meeting must not be held. Premier Duplessis's so-called "padlock law" whereby a place may be padlocked or closed if it is believed to be used in the interests of Communism, has a very Fascist tinge. This law was first put into effect with the closing of the offices of the paper *La Carté*. This paper is a French Leftist weekly. Soon after this action was taken copies appeared in Montreal, having been printed in Ontario, with a notice of defiance to Duplessis and a picture of the padlocked door on the front page. They have been coming into Montreal steadily since then in spite of all the efforts of the provincial police, including seizure of train and truck deliveries. But this was only the beginning. Since then scores of raids have been made in Montreal and Communist literature seized. Even an allegedly Communist schoolroom was raided, afternoon classes broken up and some thirty young pupils sent home, textbooks and pamphlets being seized. In many of these raids books have been seized that have no connection with Communism whatever.

The Padlock Act has raised an outcry from one end of the Dominion to the other. Its opponents claim that it is unconstitutional and that it is *ultra vires* of the Quebec Government's jurisdiction—especially since the Supreme Court has upheld the Federal Government's disallowance of the Alberta Aberhart Acts—but as yet no action has been taken by the Federal Government. All in all, Quebec would seem to be more Fascist than democratic. Premier Duplessis maintains he is fighting Communism. The cry sounds familiar.

East v. West

In addition to problems within the confines of provinces like Quebec and Alberta there is also the old East *versus* West cry, St. James Street, Montreal, against the Western farmer. This, of course, is Mr. Aberhart's theme, but it contains many points that require immediate and serious consideration. Nowhere is there greater need for a truly national outlook. The truth of the matter is that the people in the industrial and financial East know little of conditions in the West and *vice versa*. Years of drought and depression have made the situation of the Western farmer serious to a degree. Organised relief providing food, clothes and books is only a palliative. Strong Federal action is required and this can only come through the

co-operation of the provinces, but this co-operation would seem to be far distant for Quebec and Ontario loudly proclaim that they are the milch cows of the Dominion and that they are tired of being milked for the benefit of the West.

If further evidence is needed of the weakness of Canada's present position, the Canadian National Railways problem should be sufficient proof. The ever-increasing deficit of this railroad and its mounting interest charges are a millstone round the necks of every man, woman and child in the Dominion. Unification of the two railroads, the C.N.R. and the C.P.R., has been advocated by outstanding and impartial authorities both in Canada and the United States, yet the situation has been allowed to drag on year after year, notwithstanding the fact that the C.N.R. is costing the taxpayers of the Dominion more than £50,000,000 a year and the C.P.R. stockholders are receiving no return from their investment. An inquiry is being held at present in the Senate, but little has been revealed except that cut-throat competition has prevented any real co-operation. Duplication of services is still the rule, and once again it has been proven that business and politics do not mix. The larger viewpoint of a truly national consciousness is absent.

It is impossible to say that Canada is politically conscious as a nation. The word "Canadian" from many points of view has no meaning whatever. Strife and disintegration are the tendencies rather than unity. Only when her own house is in order can Canada develop in a truly national way and formulate a truly national policy.

HONOUR FOR GODLESS

The Soviet-Russian Association of the Godless in the Ukraine have decided to give a Flag of honour to the Godless in South Africa. This flag is of red silk, embroidered with golden letters on one side in Russian and in English : "Proletarians of all countries Unite", and on the other side, "Religion is opium for the masses." The Godless of other sections will also be honoured by such a flag : those of U.S.A., Mexico, etc.—*Agence d'Informations de l'Orient, Boulogne.*

JAPS SELL "ROOSEVELT" PENCILS

Disabled war veterans in Japan are selling "Roosevelt" pencils at 29 cents a dozen in a case bearing the following inscription : "Roosevelt—Best new lead pencils of the P. of the U.S.A., for bankers, artists, teachers." An American in Tokyo recently sent President Roosevelt a case, which has proved quite a curiosity to the White House family.—*Wall Street Journal, New York.*

WHY INDIA SUPPORTS CHINA
British and Japanese Imperialism

From a broadcast issued by the Foreign Department of the All-India Congress Committee, Allahabad

by PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

INDIA'S sympathy goes out to China for a variety of reasons. India is aspiring and fighting for national freedom as China is. The forces of national freedom in both countries extend to each other the hand of sympathy and support. They must band themselves together against the imperialist life-urge of exploitation and conquest. They must swear to prevent the use under imperialist control of their nationals and soldiers in each other's territory. They must mutually defend themselves by refusing economic relations with the imperialist invader. They must prepare themselves for the day when they can strike a simultaneous blow at all imperialism. They must send each other, in event of need, monies, medical supplies and all manner of other possible help. India has a four-fold task to perform: (1) She must ceaselessly condemn the despatch of Indian troops to China and demand their withdrawal as also that of the Indian people attached to British consulates in China ; (2) She must organise an effective boycott of Japanese goods ; (3) She must ceaselessly train the people never to give men and supplies to the British Empire in its wars ; (4) She must pay to China till it pinches. The ancient friendship of the two peoples of China and India must now be reinforced by the new camaraderie of the two freedom-loving nations.

The Meaning of British Democracy

While we condemn Japan and support China, we must not err in assessing the true role of Britain. Mighty machines of propaganda are in motion and we must withstand them. British commentators are rejoicing through our own talkies, radio and press at Britain's rearming to curb the " cynic's violation of right." The inference obviously is that Britain is a democracy, just and peaceful,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU IN CONVERSATION WITH GANDHI

and can be relied on to stand with her arms by humanity against brutality. The addresses of the United States President are also likely to cause confusion. In his insistence on the capacity of the democratic Powers to protect the peace of the world, one might see in British armaments a factor of justice and peace.

One thing must be clear. There is, of course, the danger of war in the boast of the Italian spokesman who calculates the Fascist bloc to contain 200 million men and to own 2 million tons of battleships. But we would be foolish if we pitted against these the 3 million tons of the American and British navies. Britain is as much a part of the imperialist system as Japan or Italy and, far from ranging their armaments against each other, we must regard them as one solid bloc against progress and peace. Against the armaments of fascism, India can only pit the desire of her people for national freedom. She eagerly welcomes the co-operation of all democratic and socialist forces throughout the world but considers that the

formal democracy of the British State is only a shabby smoke-screen and British armaments are surely no part of the world's democratic forces.

If Britain rearms, and until British monopoly capital is destroyed, she does so to secure her own interests. And her interests throughout the world are large. Even in the East, where Japan is hurling bombs over China, Britain is still the owner of the largest territories. In India, Australia, Malaya and other colonies, she owns over one-tenth of the world's territory and one-fifth of its population. Under Britain's protecting wings, Holland and France own between themselves another 2 per cent of the world's territory and 5 per cent of its population. On the basis of Asia and Australia alone, Britain is responsible for the daily humbling of nearly one-fourth of their surface and one-half of their population.

The enforced satiation of British imperialism and the fascist conquests of Japanese imperialism differ only in the extent of their unmasked brutality, but are alike in the damage they cause to human peace and progress.

The Answer to Fascism

One might also relevantly enquire if British arms have stood by peace and democracy during the eighteen months of the Spanish war and the six months of the fresh Japanese war on China. Day after day cities are being destroyed and human life killed. British monopoly capital is so tied up with Japanese monopoly capital that, unless its own existence is imperilled and a war is forced on it, it must just look on. The answer to the challenge of fascism to seize the whole world does not surely lie in British arms. Britain will not fight and, even if that were to happen, how does it fundamentally matter if the fascist brutality of Japanese imperialism were exchanged for the steady blood-sucking of British imperialism?

Who can fight the fascist menace of reaction and war? There are the national freedom movements of India, China and other similar countries. There is Soviet Russia which has definitely discarded imperialism as the basis of its State policy. There are the democratic and socialist forces throughout the world such as the Popular Fronts and the World Committees for Peace and Democracy. In the unity of these forces lies the answer to the fascist challenge.

RICHES GERMANY LOST

A Pacific Phosphate Isle

by ERNEST OSBORNE

From the "Austral–Asiatic Bulletin," Melbourne, April–May

The complaint is made by Germans that they are told, when they demand the return of their former colonies, that these possessions are not worth anything anyway. This, as the following shows, can hardly be said of the fertiliser island of Nauru, of which little or nothing has been heard in public discussions over the colonial question

FORTY years ago four small islands in the tropical Pacific, previously visited only at rare intervals by ships in search of copra, suddenly became very important. They were found to be immensely valuable deposits of phosphate of lime.

That accidental discovery came first on Nauru (Pleasant Island) and then on Banaba (Ocean Island), Angaur, and Makatea (Aurora Island). Nauru and Banaba lie a few miles south of the Equator, only 147 miles apart. Angaur and Makatea are far from these two largest oceanic phosphate deposits, and very distant from each other. Angaur is in the Pellew Group in the North-west Pacific, north of New Guinea and handy to Japan ; Makatea is in the south-east Islands, on the outskirts of the French Tuamotus—the Low Archipelago, or "Cloud of Islands." Operations began first on Banaba, then on Nauru, Angaur and Makatea. . . .

Banaba and Nauru phosphate is of the purest and richest grade known. Even the thin cuticle of black soil is as rich as the bottom layer held between coral pinnacles in pockets of irregular depth, which for the whole surface on Ocean Island (Banaba) averages about eight feet, and on Nauru more, in thickness.

These two equatorial Central Pacific island-deposits, wherein Australia, together with Britain and New Zealand, is an active partner, contain an estimated quantity of one hundred million tons of phosphate : forty millions on Ocean Island (my original estimate), and sixty millions on Nauru. Although the phosphate is being steadily

removed, these deposits will supply Australia and New Zealand for generations with fertiliser—unless political trouble intervenes. Nauru is held under a "C" type mandate, but Ocean Island is British. Phosphate rights on both were purchased from the Pacific Phosphate Company.

Yet these great deposits are exceeded by those in Florida, U.S.A., where the annual output exceeds three million tons ; by the mines in Tunis, North Africa, where, at Gafsa, one and a half million tons of phosphate are won annually ; and by the phosphate deposits in Russia. Nothing has been heard of the Angaur phosphate deposit since, in the post-war distribution of Germany's Pacific possessions, it was allocated to Japan under mandate. Subsequently it was annexed to serve Japan's urgent need for a large deposit of high-grade phosphate of lime. The war presented Japan with a ten-million-ton phosphate deposit, effectively equipped and operating. By the merger of Ocean Island and Nauru under the British Phosphate Commissioners, Australian agriculturists enjoy about 50 per cent reduction in the price of superphosphate. . . .

Ocean Island is roughly kidney-shaped and measures about 1,360 acres. It is all phosphate land, pinnacles excepted, and is mostly steep, along a fringing-reef of varying width. Nauru is appreciably larger than Ocean Island, yet is small. A palm-decked narrow strip of coastal land encircles the elevated phosphate area which, although containing large trees, is poor in food-trees other than pandanus. Ocean Island is of about the same elevation as Nauru's phosphate area.

Under the Phosphate Commissioners the peoples of Ocean Island and Nauru receive an increased royalty per ton of phosphate mined. These Micronesians are cared for in civil life and health by their white overlords. White employees on both these phosphate islands are provided with civilised comforts, equipment and recreation. Facilities surpass those in some modern dwellings in Sydney suburbs.

The ownership of Nauru probably is secure until the phosphate is depleted. It is too valuable to be considered as a pawn in any possible colonial " mandate " adjustment between mandatory nations and Germany.

A VOICE FROM BLACK AFRICA

Crowning Iniquity

From the "Nigerian Eastern Mail," Calabar

IN the WORLD REVIEW of January, 1938, the Editor of the *Sunday Express*, Johannesburg, South Africa, airs his views as to a likely settlement of Germany's demands for colonial possessions. He is of the opinion that the views of South Africa will carry great weight at any council table of Powers and that her statesmen enjoy great prestige at Geneva and elsewhere : even, or shall we say, especially in Germany and Italy. Anyway, it is his opinion that this question of a stake in Africa for Hitler's Germany will finally be decided by negotiations between Germany, Great Britain and the Dominions, and he takes it for granted that the Dominion of South Africa, being the only African Dominion, will have a determining voice in the final solution arrived at.

He then goes on to make the following prophecy :

> It is more than likely that the territories that will be handed over to Germany will be Togoland, the Cameroons, and probably the Negro Republic of Liberia with certain rights and privileges in the Northern portion of the Portuguese territory of Angola.

So there is no doubt about it that at least one Dominion regards us as so much livestock on the imperial farm, to be bought and sold and bartered at the convenience of our White owners. It will not add to the confidence of African natives to realise that such people will have a voice in apportioning African soil and the African natives thereof.

But, knowing full well South Africa's idea of justice for *blacks*, we cannot let ourselves believe that the Mother Country, that has always stood for justice and liberty for all, irrespective of race or creed, could possibly be a party to such an iniquity. The idea of handing back the unfortunate inhabitants of Togoland and the Cameroons to "their former masters," as though Africans and the land of their birth were so many stock farms in which certain European powers had absolute proprietorial rights, is one inherently offensive to all self-respecting Africans. But the crowning iniquity,

that the Free Republic of Liberia should be *dashed* to Germany, leaves one speechless with horror. However wicked those who sit in the seat of authority may or may not be, we do not believe that the Great and Justice-loving British people would tolerate such an iniquity. They allowed Sir John Simon and others to betray Manchuria ; in spite of their repudiation of Hoare and Laval they were persuaded into letting Eden and others betray Abyssinia, they let their government shirk its moral responsibilities in China and play the fool at Non-intervention Meetings on Spain ; but this crowning abomination they would never tolerate.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT

You have let your correspondent aged 60 and now your rather safety-first person of 56 have their word. May I say that I was 70 this month, that I went to Burma in the 52nd in 1889, and after two frontier expeditions and years of fever in the Indian Army and Political Department, where I was sometimes 400 miles from the nearest railway, over great mountains and rivers, came home in 1905. I commanded two battalions during the War, was at the Dardanelles and in the Serbian Retreat, saw service in Macedonia (70,000 cases of malaria), marched through the desert to take Jerusalem, and ended up fighting in France and Belgium till the march through to Cologne. I am under the weather just now with a go of pneumonia, but until then have been doing two and three days' hard shooting a week, followed by several sets of badminton or an A.R.P. course. In July I drove my car 856 miles in 10 days on business. I am a magistrate, member of the Territorial Association, Income Tax Commissioner, member of the County Records, Rating and Standing Joint Committee, and a vice-president of the Bi-County and local British Legion. I can jump a tennis net, and always do everything hard. I have worked a pick and shovel for weeks on the frontier as an example to the chiefs road-making, and been so tired sometimes that I thought I could not get up again. Still, in comparison with my father, the late Major W. H. Drage, 52nd Infantry, I look upon myself as a weakling, as he used to wait for duck flighting up to his knees in water at 80, and he lived to be 93. His last words were about shooting. —*Letter to "The Times,"* 16.7.38.

STAND-OFFISH

There seems to be a prevalent belief that Englishmen are a trifle diffident, but this is all nonsense. We know a lad who once rowed on the Oxford eight, and he got to know all the other rowers quite well—all excepting the little fellow who sat away back in the stern.—*Union Oil Bulletin, U.S.A.*

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

AUSTRIAN POST-MORTEM

AUSTRIA AND AFTER. By Dr. Franz Borkenau. *Faber & Faber.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE LAST FIVE HOURS OF AUSTRIA. By Eugene Lennhoff. *Rich & Cowan.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

TWILIGHT IN VIENNA. By Willi Frischauer. *Collins.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by DOUGLAS REED

HERE are three books about that Austria which has gone, and is unlikely ever to return : one a succinct and scholarly study of Austria from its beginnings to its end ; the second a newspaper man's staccato account of the last convulsions; the third a picture of the Vienna of defeatism, inertia and hopelessness that developed after the World War, the last period of Austria's decline.

For my part, I very much like Dr. Borkenau's book. For a few years to come there will be some people, like myself, who knew Austria, that Austria ; and there will be an ever-increasing number of people who never knew Austria and who in course of time will ask " What is Austria ? " or " Where was Austria ? " just as I myself, all too much wrapped up in the things I knew and know, even to-day sometimes find myself suddenly pulled up short by people who ask, " What *was* the thirtieth of June ? "

I think people of both these classes will for a long time to come be able to read *Austria and After* with profit and enjoyment, for Dr. Borkenau really knows his subject and writes with the detachment of the sound craftsman. He analyses, in few and telling words, the complicated interplay of political, racial, nationalist and religious forces that made Austria great and brought Austria down. He clearly explains such intricate movements as the devout but anti-clerical Catholicism that made Austria so difficult to understand for masses of people in distant lands who thought that Catholicism and Hitlerism could not grow in beauty side by side. In short, he helps you to understand the Austria that produced Hitler—and that is something worth understanding. I particularly like his careful prognosis that, while Austria is finished and while Austrian youth may find militarism much to its liking, Hitlerism may in the long run find itself fighting hard in Austria against the ghost of Austria's traditions—and you can't put ghosts in concentration camps.

Herr Willi Frischauer sets out to describe the twilight of the gods that so many people loved, and I myself not least among them. It was indeed a sad Vienna —that of 1918–1938—with all the brilliant pre-war uniforms gone and the Prater Avenue, with its magnificent chestnut trees, all empty and forlorn, and the inertia of the people—once the great working-class movement which in 1918 set out to build a newer and better Vienna on the ashes of the old that had

been destroyed by Austrian armies awfully arrayed. In the outer circles of the city you had masses of people living below the Plimsoll line of a bare subsistence, and in the centre you had a chattering few, with nothing particularly Austrian about them, who always seemed prosperous and dominated the scene. Business morality, in that Vienna, sank to the lowest depths, young men saw no hope of a future worth working for, the exploitation of women was one of the few thriving trades, and all these things were made the more repellent by the background of a noble city set in incomparable surroundings. Between 1918 and 1934, when the Socialists carried out their great housing schemes, these things were offset by the great improvement in the conditions of the masses which they brought, but under the Dollfuss–Schuschnigg regime, which stopped this process of betterment, apathy became general. The foreign lover of Vienna was continually depressed by these conditions and longed for some miracle to change them.

Herr Willi Frischauer describes at length the conditions which existed and the types, like the amateur prostitute and the gigolo, which they produced. Towards the end of his book, written before the invasion, he seems to have come to the conclusion that the Dolfuss–Schuschnigg regime would cure these evils, and that their Clerico–Fascist dictatorship therefore justified itself. I fear that I saw little sign of this. In a last chapter written after Hitler's swoop, however, he says bitter things of the anti-Semitic dictatorship that now rules Austria. But will it not cure at least some of the things he saw in that twilight Vienna?

Herr Lennhoff was editor of the Jewish *Telegraf*, a Vienna evening paper hated by the Nazis. After editing the edition of Friday evening, March 11th, he made a quick getaway by one door as the Nazis came in by another; the next day's edition bore the swastika. He gives a vivid account of the fear-laden last days before the German swoop, of the panic among the Jews, of his own flight to the Czechoslovak frontier, his failure to cross there, and his last-minute success in getting into Hungary, from where he came to London. One thing that surprises is the way the situation seems to have been completely miscalculated in such an office as that of the Vienna *Telegraf*, where the possibility of a lightning German swoop was apparently held to be fantastic right up to the last. Yet I remember that from the day, five weeks earlier, when Schuschnigg went to Berchtesgaden, the conviction was general among the more competent diplomats and foreign newspaper correspondents that Austria's end was imminently at hand.

The "Evening Standard"
Book of the Month
SHAW DESMOND'S
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This magnificent new novel, by the author of *London Pride*, etc., is a drama of love and death which, keeping the man and woman in the centre of a stage that is our world of the Transition Period, touches the vital problems of our time — especially that of War. 8/6 net.
HUTCHINSON

APOLOGIA

GERMANY SPEAKS. By Twenty-one members of Party and State. *Thornton Butterworth.* 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Reviewed by POWYS GREENWOOD

THIS is a composite work addressed to British readers on the aims, methods and achievements of the new Germany, written by a number of the most eminent personalities in the Reich. Thus Dr. Frick, the Minister of the Interior, deals with the constitutional problems of unification, Dr. Schacht writes on economics, Dr. Ley, of the Labour Front, on social policy, the Reich Sports Leader on German sport, and so on. The publishers are probably justified in claiming that it is a unique book in that never before have the members of the Government of a Great Power united in addressing the public of a foreign country, and it may certainly be taken as an indication of the stress laid in Germany on the importance of good relations with Great Britain.

But although German policy and principles could scarcely be more authoritatively expounded, I am not sure that the method employed is the most suitable to enable English readers to understand the people and the movement which, whatever we may feel about them, are likely to prove the most powerful influence on European politics for many years to come. Not only is the element of propaganda very evident, but the idiom of National Socialism is not easily understood by the people of a Western democracy, and there is a good deal of question-begging. When Herr Reinhardt, Secretary of State in the Finance Ministry, declares, for example, that the public budgets have been balanced and that the German financial situation is thoroughly sound, one would like to ask for his definition of "balanced" and "sound." That the German economic system works is certainly true, but its methods would scarcely be described as sound in the City of London, and Dr. Schacht, in a valuable chapter on the German economic position, is quite frank about its heel of Achilles—foreign trade.

There are two interesting chapters on "population policy" and "racial thought." The conviction that the principal object of national policy should be to improve the race and to maintain or increase its numbers is at the very root of National Socialism, and Germany can claim considerable credit for pioneer work in a matter which, as Dr. Gütt and Dr. Gross show, is of real importance for the future of the Western peoples. The methods and aims of the compulsory Labour Service, one of the most successful of Nazi institutions, are well described, there are sections on such diverse matters as justice, education,

THE NEW IRELAND

J. B. MORTON
("*BEACHCOMBER*")

"This is a book full of hope as well as of information. It will sweep away much error." *G.K's Weekly*

". . . he performs a signal service to the cause of Anglo-Irish friendship." *Irish Press*

". . . contains a useful exposition of the new Constitution . . . helps to put controversial matters in a clearer light." *Universe*

Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE PALADIN PRESS
15 King St., Covent Garden, W.C.2

the place of women, culture and literature, the Press, and the German case for the return of the colonies is well and forcibly put by the Chairman of the Colonial League.

Finally, Baron von Rheinbaben contributes an important chapter on Anglo-German relations. Unfortunately, though comprehensibly, he confines himself largely to generalities, but he is certainly right in insisting that in spite of goodwill on both sides, common ground has not yet been found. Yet somehow it must be possible to reconcile "the world power England . . . the having and possessing . . . and the great continental power Germany . . . the not having enough and demanding." That this is the central problem of European peace there can be no doubt, and this book is at any rate a contribution towards it.

VANISHED LINES

HOMAGE TO CATALONIA. By George Orwell. *Secker & Warburg.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

BOOKS about the Spanish war naturally fall into two classes—political surveys by propagandists, and eye-witness accounts by volunteers. The former category is large, the latter small; they overlap slightly—journalists come under fire, theorists take arms—but the distinction between them remains almost as clear as that between the books written from opposite sides. Perhaps the best of all, the most informative and convincing, are three that belong to the former group, though their authors are, of course, historians rather than propagandists. Hardly any of the others in this larger group—half a dozen at most—were worth printing; whereas, for obvious reasons, the records of personal experience given to us by articulate Left-Wingers who have returned from various fronts in Spain have all been more interesting and readable than the arguments of the doctrinaires. Their advantage lies in greater vividness and truth. Romilly, Pitcairn, Scott-Watson and Sommerfield have produced war-books of merit; but the author of *The Road to Wigan Pier* has now written a very fine book, which is far and away the best of this kind and, both as literature and for its human and political honesty, one that will rank among the five or six minor classics of this war.

Mr. Orwell can write. In these days everyone writes; but the lucidity and strength of Orwell's superbly straightforward style are phenomenal. He saw six months' fighting of an intermittent, unimportant sort; he went to Spain knowing nothing of the country; as an I.L.P. volunteer he was drafted into the P.O.U.M. militia, caring little for what these initials meant, with the simple desire "to kill one Fascist"; he had found revolutionary Barcelona "queer and moving," there was much in it he did not understand, in some ways he "did not even like it," but he "recognised it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for"; he got a bullet through the throat; he left Spain after the "Trotskyist" party to which he so vaguely belonged had been suppressed and traduced by the Communist–Republican Right in June of last year, as a sequel to the inner revolution that had taken place in May. This he proves to have been no such thing, but a spontaneous outbreak of street-fighting, in which he took part. Two of his fourteen chapters are devoted to a careful analysis of the political situation behind the lines: trouble brewing between the extreme Left, which wanted to wage the war and the revolution simultaneously, and the moderate Left, including the Communists, determined to fight first for "democracy"; then,

following the defeat of the Anarchists, the campaign of fantastic abuse and savage persecution levelled against them —and the P.O.U.M. in particular—by their Communist comrades. The author reasons fairly and clear-sightedly that there was a great deal to be said for both views and shows—at greater length than necessary—that there is nothing at all to be said in defence of the vilification, by the Communist press throughout the world, of its "Trotskyist–Fascist" scapegoat. Messrs. Pitcairn, Langdon-Davies and Bates and the Duchess of Atholl receive neatly administered fleas in the ear, which the reader, when he has studied Mr. Orwell's sane summing-up of this affair, will consider thoroughly justified.

Party faction is not, however, what primarily concerns the author, and it is for his sympathetic and mostly shrewd observations of the Spanish character, his kindliness, the brilliant simplicity of his descriptive writing, that this book should be read by anyone interested in the real feelings of his fellow-men.

BRITAIN AND THE DICTATORS. By R. W. Seton-Watson. *Cambridge.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

PEACE WITH THE DICTATORS. By Sir Norman Angell. *Hamish Hamilton.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

OF these two books, both dealing with identical problems, Professor Seton-Watson's is the more important and the more interesting. Professor Seton-Watson writes as an historian with his eye on the past, but with also a message for the present and a warning for the future. His main thesis is that Britain has never succeeded in isolating herself from the continent and cannot disinterest herself in European movements, without endangering her own safety and the integrity of her Empire. His opening chapter on the essentials of pre-War policy illustrates the fact, "which no serious student of modern history can fail to grasp—that hitherto, while Britain has often enough held aloof from secondary conflicts in Europe, she has never yet held entirely aloof from struggles of the first magnitude, and that in such an event she has invariably thrown her weight on to the weakest, not on to the strongest side." The inference drawn from this is "that she has hitherto regarded the hegemony of any one Power over the continent as incompatible with her own interests; and there is absolutely nothing to suggest that she is likely to abandon this attitude in the near future."

Starting from this premise the author sketches the course of European history since the Armistice, examining in turn the attitude of Britain to the Peace Settlement, the League of Nations, Locarno, the three Dictatorial Powers, the problem of the small States and the more recent developments in Abyssinia and Spain. He considers that the key to peace rests with Germany and if the "triangular relations of London, Paris and Berlin can be placed on a more or less permanent footing the continent will have peace for a considerable period and all other problems will fall into their proper places: if not Mr. Baldwin's prophecy will be realised and European civilisation will fall into ruins."

Of the Chamberlain policy of detaching Italy from Germany Professor Seton-Watson is extremely sceptical. "It is high time for us to realise," he remarks, "what Mussolini has realised long ago, that Britain is the main obstacle to every section of his total design and that it is useless to hug illusions as to his friendship or to trust his word. With Russia under Stalin our interests need not collide: with Germany under

Hitler a compromise is difficult but by no means impossible : with Italy under Mussolini there can be nothing better than armed neutrality and perpetual vigilance." His chief recommendation is that we should tell Hitler where to stop, even if it implies abandoning the British policy of avoiding commitments in advance. For this purpose he would band together all pacific elements and organise an alliance of the peace-loving nations, not excluding Russia, sufficiently strong to deter any would-be aggressor.

It will not surprise any reader to find Sir Norman Angell reaching the same conclusions. In *Peace with the Dictators* the author opens with a symposium in which the German, the Italian and the Englishman speak in turn. The psychology of dictatorship, the case for surrendering to the dictators and for isolation, are each discussed with the objectivity which we have learned to expect from Sir Norman Angell. With Prof. Seton-Watson he believes that we must abandon our policy of no commitments and take certain risks if we are to avoid war. He would base his alliance of Peace-loving nations on a reformed League, but does not mind much about the form as long as the result is an effective deterrent to aggression. For this he thinks the people of England would fight, who would not fight for the Empire. We may question this view, but it is difficult to deny the logic of the main argument.

EMBARRASSING

An American vacationing in Europe bought one of these diminutive foreign cars, made a motor tour of Germany, and was so embarrassed by the dachshunds looking in the windows that he sold it before he came home.—*Union Oil Bulletin, U.S.A.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editor welcomes letters from readers, which should be kept as short as possible

JAPAN 'FINISHED'?

SIR,—In the current issue of your interesting magazine the editorial by Mr. Vernon Bartlett contains the statement that Japan is "finished" as a first-class Power.

It would have been helpful to those who seek objectively to follow the moves in the Far East if a pennyworth of evidence to support this extraordinary assertion had been advanced. On what grounds does so prominent a journalist as Mr. Bartlett make this statement? Japan's stringent domestic rulings to put the country on a war-basis economically does not even remotely hint at economic decline; and as a naval Power Japan's influence is sufficiently marked to have adjusted the new tonnage agreement among Great Britain, France and the United States; the last-named being clearly the nation to insist upon a 45,000 tons level because of her anxiety over Japanese naval expansion.

We seem to be getting rather too much opinionated political writing to-day in which the wish is father to the thought. I, too, would like to see China repulse the Japanese forces, but despite certain articles in the British Press assuring us that "China will win," I can see no reason for optimism. The Chinese have been losing ground steadily for a year, and although it is possible that generations hence China will assimilate the invader, as she has done in the past, there seems to be no sign that she will defeat the present advance.

Political bias is warping much contemporary political judgment. Apart altogether from the lamentable Madame Tabouis, many well-known writers have been prophesying from the wrong side of the fence (in the name of democracy) ever since they assured us in 1935 that Italy could not survive that rainy season in Abyssinia. RAYMOND BURNS.

Press Gallery, House of Commons.

The Editor's Reply:

Mr. Burns raises a very pertinent issue—there is a lot of opinionated political writing to-day. But I do not agree that there can be too much of it. When so great a proportion of our news reaches us through the (necessarily) objective medium of the microphone or through great newspapers that have forgotten how to lead—as a well-informed parliamentary journalist, Mr. Burns must himself have noticed how often even a paper like *The Times* waits (as it did in the Duncan Sandys case) until it sees which way the political wind is blowing before it expresses an editorial opinion. Let us, for democracy's sake, not be afraid of our opinions.

That the wish sometimes colours the opinion is, alas, true. This Review, or its Editor, has doubtless been guilty in this respect, although there has almost always been a saving "unless" or "if"! For example, in the Abyssinian war we attached very much more importance to man-imposed oil sanctions than to the ungentle rains from heaven.

And in the case of the Sino–Japanese "incident" I asserted that Japan was "finished" as a first-class power because (1) it was the opinion of most diplomats and business men (often very unsympathetic towards Chiang Kai-shek's China) whom I met in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Hankow or Canton that Japan lost the war when the Kuomintang government survived the fall of

Nanking ; (2) the Japanese advances are along the few roads and railways and do not extend more than a mile or two from these lines of communication, and Chiang Kai-shek's failure to defeat the Communists after years of campaigning shows how effective guerrilla warfare can be in a country like China ; and (3) the shortage of money in Japan and the abundance of manpower in China are likely to be decisive factors.

And I can only hope that, in putting forward these few of many arguments I am not allowing my political bias to warp my political judgment.

VERNON BARTLETT.

INTERNATIONAL TRAMPS

SIR,—No-one who has given more than a casual glance at my book would accept Mr. Saunders' indictment that "in its spirit and atmosphere it is an insult to Nansen's name." Even experienced reviewers, not sharing my views on the League, have recognised the book as a well-deserved and generous tribute to that great man's humanitarian work.

Furthermore, Mr. Saunders should remember that the views and criticisms contained in *International Tramps* are, in general, those to which Dr. Nansen gave frequent utterance and were faithfully echoed by Mr. Saunders when acting as his secretary.

Mr. Saunders' complaint that my book is "exceedingly dull when it is not scurrilous" exposes him to two obvious rejoinders. In the first place, it was the events recounted, over which I had no control, which were scurrilous. In the second place, emerging, for the first time, from the hectic atmosphere of Francis Beeding literature Mr. Saunders must necessarily find even the strangest truths exceedingly dull reading.

T. F. JOHNSON.

Mr. Saunders writes :

It is all a question of taste. Mr. T. F. Johnson may, perhaps, have intended to pay a "generous tribute" to Dr. Nansen's humanitarian work. Good intentions, however, are no excuse for failure. He is working in a medium evidently unfamiliar to him, and this is one reason why his book is so dull. The events he describes are not in themselves dull, it is only his method of presenting them. Whatever his motives are, all he has succeeded in doing is in portraying a great man in such a way as to make him as small as some of his surroundings. Literary inexperience may explain, but cannot excuse this.

My memory may be at fault, but I cannot recollect Dr. Nansen indulging in monotonous diatribes against Governments in general and the Government of France in particular. Dr. Nansen worked through the League and through the Governments composing it, and he retained his faith in the League to the end. But then, Dr. Nansen was a great man.

In *International Tramps*, Mr. Johnson has not confined his attentions to Dr. Nansen, he has seen fit to make certain allegations against an unspecified and nameless—for he has been very careful—group of his former associates in Geneva and on the Secretariat of the League.

If these allegations are not scurrilous, then that word has no meaning.

H. A. ST. GEORGE SAUNDERS.

JOURNEYS END . . .

SIR,—Why don't you advertise your paper ? It is what is wanted, and cost me an 800-mile journey to get acquainted with it.

F. M. HOLLANDS,
Tsime, Butha Buthe, Basutoland.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

HOPE REVIVES

by "RAPIER"

When I wrote last month the economic and financial outlook was still very uncertain and caution was the order of the day.

Recovery in Wall Street

In the latter part of June, however, the whole picture was lightened by a sudden and largely unexpected revival on Wall Street which within a fortnight had carried the Dow–Jones index of industrial securities to the highest point this year with a rise of 25.30 points, and even advanced the extremely depressed railroad and utility indices to new peaks for the year though the rise in these securities was much less spectacular than in industrials. Such a rapid advance naturally induced profit-taking which, however, was well absorbed and at the time of writing the market, though somewhat hesitant, shows no sign of slipping back into its former despondency. What, however, everyone is asking is whether this advance is justified and what is its basis. There seem to be two schools of opinion on this subject even among Americans. The uncompromising and irreconcilable critics of President Roosevelt maintain that Wall Street's ebullition of strength is evanescent and after a few months will die away again through lack of any solid basis of trade recovery. They attribute the stock market revival to discounting the effects of the pump-priming which inevitably must increase the purchasing power of the community and lead to an increased demand for "consumption goods" such as textiles but, they say, will not revive the "capital goods" industries such as steel. The President, they say, is determined upon a re-distribution of wealth and in the process is taxing capital out of existence, and in these circumstances no revival of business confidence is possible. Another school of thought sees indications of a real trade revival in the autumn and attributes Wall Street's rise to a justifiable discounting of such a revival. They maintain that, apart from the irreconcilables of Wall Street, there is a better feeling among business men and a new spirit of co-operation with the Administration.

New Deal Prospects

Viewed in perspective from London the American scene presents several confusing elements which are difficult to evaluate. If the President's critics are correct in their diagnosis then the best hope for trade revival will be the defeat of New Deal supporters in the November Congressional elections on the largest possible scale. By no possibility can the complexion of the Senate be changed, as only one-third of its members must seek re-election and even in the House of Representatives a Republican victory is out of the question, but the defeat of a considerable number of pro-New Deal Democrats

would clip the President's wings and force him to go slow with his reform programme. The results of the primary elections, where the two parties choose their representatives for the November elections, will therefore be watched with the greatest interest over the next month or two to see which way the wind is blowing and upon the result the behaviour of the market will to some extent depend.

Non-political Factors

Apart from politics there are other factors which are of vital importance. Congress adjourned without passing any legislation to help the sorely pressed railroads, and, short of a Special Session Congress in the interim, nothing can now be done until next January to help them in their plight except a general trade revival. The companies are pressing for wage-cuts which the labour unions are resisting and this issue is still in the balance. The steel companies have cut prices and are now operating at a loss and they, too, are pressing for wage reductions. At the same time the price of copper has risen, perhaps too rapidly, and it has yet to be seen whether consumers will buy at the enhanced prices. Until the price and wage structure is brought more into harmony there must be some hesitancy as to the soundness of the predicted trade revival.

Wall Street the Barometer

The effect of America upon the rest of the world is reflected in the behaviour of the London security and commodity markets. When Wall Street rises securities and commodities rise in London and vice versa. Wall Street is still the barometer upon which all eyes are fixed and when Wall Street is strong London ignores its own indices of trade recession and puts its faith in the brighter future indicated for the world in an American revival.

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The Austrian Loan

One of the most satisfactory events of the month has been the Anglo–German debt and trade agreement. When I last wrote the service of the Austrian foreign debt was in the balance but the negotiations held in London led to a satisfactory solution whereby even though bondholders had to accept cuts in interest both on Austrian and German loans the sinking funds were restored and the prospect of a maintenance of payments in the future rendered much brighter. The agreement also gives promise of an increase of trade between Britain and Germany and on that score was welcomed as another, if only a minor, step in Mr. Chamberlain's policy of European appeasement.

The Wheat Situation

The world wheat situation has been causing concern among the producing countries. A month or two ago it was believed that Italy would have to import about a million tons of wheat, but since then the position has improved and their harvest is now estimated to be but little below that of last year. There are, however, large surpluses in view both in North America and the Danubian contries and probably also in Russia. The disposal of these excess crops is a problem which is exercising the minds of all producing countries, and in view of the determination of all former importing countries to render themselves more or less self-sufficient is one that is difficult of solution.

The financial position in France is once more giving cause for some anxiety and there is a recrudescence of a flight from the franc into gold. While there is no tangible evidence of a deterioration in the situation the French are once again suffering a *crise de confiance.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: JUNE 15–JULY 14

GREAT BRITAIN, ITALY, FRANCE AND SPAIN

Il Duce's anxiety that the Anglo–Italian Pact of April 16th should come into effect was conveyed to Great Britain on June 4th. The Italian Press, in its first comments (June 18th), showed irritation at the delay. It argued that Italy had fulfilled her part of the Pact, that a "settlement" in Spain had been retarded by the opening of the French frontier, but that after the Council meeting (May 11th) England was free to recognise the conquest of Ethiopia. Statements in Parliament (June 20th, July 6th) showed that the British Government was not seeking delay, but could not give full effect to the Pact till the Spanish question was settled, as pledged by Mr. Chamberlain (February 21st). Regarding Ethiopia, the Press, recalling Lord Halifax's statement at Geneva, observed that recognition had to be part of a general appeasement ; and that failing a truce in Spain to which Italy was opposed the "settlement" must be sought by a withdrawal of "volunteers" through the Non-Intervention Committee.

The crucial point was the French attitude towards the transit of war material. M. Flandin alleged (June 2nd) that 250,000 tons of war material had been allowed through in April–May, in virtue of an unpublished decree of March 17th, by M. Blum. The latter admitted in the *Populaire* (June 18th) that, since Italy had avowed her intervention, France had ceased to "play gendarme." In deference to British representations and to smooth the path of Anglo–Italian relations, M. Daladier reversed this policy and after June 13th the frontier was sealed by France. International control on the French and Portuguese frontiers was still suspended. France's action was approved by the Italian Press as a starting point —though the *Stampa* (June 23rd) insisted that gun-running from the Provençal ports must cease.

After the closing of the French frontier the Non-Intervention Sub-Committee was able (June 21st) to reach substantial agreement on the British Plan, officially described as "a scheme for re-affirming and strengthening the Non-Intervention Agreement, for withdrawing foreign combatants from both sides, for granting in certain circumstances, belligerent rights to both commands, and for strengthening the observation of Spanish frontiers by land and by sea."

In a series of meetings (June 24–30th) the Sub-Committee revised the Plan, reducing the costs, and strengthening the clauses concerning sea observation to meet the Russian objections. It was finally agreed that observers should be stationed in 8–10 Spanish ports, under conditions rendering evasion difficult, and that if Russia refused to contribute to all the costs, her share would be made good by the other four Powers. The amended Plan was adopted by the main Committee by July 5th, with a further modification to ensure the parallel enforcement of sea and land control to meet the standpoint of Russia. The four Powers at once paid £12,500 each to enable the work to begin, and the Plan was despatched on July 6th to both the parties in Spain.

The prospect of some months' delay before the "volunteers" could be withdrawn caused Italy to urge more insis-

tently (July 8th) the bringing into force of the Anglo-Italian Pact. A unilateral withdrawal of the Legionary "volunteers" being unacceptable to Rome, it was agreed, after further diplomatic discussions, to expedite as far as possible the functioning of the British Plan.

At the same time increasing annoyance at Italy's failure to resume the interrupted negotiations was manifested in France, where the closing of the frontier —advocated by England, but not as a unilateral act—had been considered as "payment in advance (cf. *Populaire*, July 9th) for enabling the Anglo-Italian Pact to be applied and, for the conclusion of a Franco-Italian Pact, without which the former would appear to France an incomplete safeguard for peace.

The continued bombing of ships under British flag, in Republican ports, aroused deep indignation in England. The *Tribuna* (June 24th) claimed that Legionary airmen had sunk 17 vessels between June 4th and 22nd. After a *démarche* at Rome by Lord Perth (June 28th), counsels of moderation were given to General Franco by Italy—which, however, disclaimed responsibility, and the attacks diminished. On June 28th Sir R. Hodgson, who had been directed to demand explanations of the bombardments and return to England, reached London with General Franco's reply, which maintained that ports were legitimate objectives and proposed that a harbour should be neutralised for lawful traders, subject to an extension of the contraband list. In England it was felt that this proposal might imply recognition of the blockade, and that Almeria, the port suggested, was unsuitable, especially for trade with Catalonia. The Republicans also objected to the scheme as an encroachment on their rights.

On June 25th the intention of the Republicans to retaliate for air raids by bombing the places whence the raiders came was conveyed to the French and British Governments, which remonstrated earnestly against any project of attacking German or Italian territory. All idea of extending such reprisals beyond Majorca was then disclaimed through the Spanish embassies (June 26th). The German and Italian Press declared that air raids on their cities, or even on Majorca, would be met with acts of war.

The organisation of the neutral committee to report on air bombardments (see July number, p. 85) was impeded by the decision of the United States (June 21st) not to take part and the consequent withdrawal of other participants. Meanwhile the scheme had been accepted by the Republicans (June 27th), who then asked that the committee should report on the bombing of Blanes on June 29th.

Despite air bombardments and the progress of the Nationalists towards Sagunto, the Republicans maintained a firm countenance ; but there were signs that they would not reject mediation once foreign intervention had ceased. Dr. Negrin, broadcasting from Madrid (June 18th), appealed for a "common denominator" for all Spaniards. The British Government's readiness to mediate, alone or with others, was affirmed by Mr. Chamberlain (June 21st, 27th). In Italy, however, the inspired Press (cf. *Stampa*, June 23rd) denounced all projects for a truce—which were attributed to France—as designed to retard General Franco's victory.

EUROPEAN CONVERSATIONS

IMPORTANT conversations took place at Venice (June 16–18th) between Dr. Stoyadinovich, Jugoslav Premier, and Count Ciano. Italy was understood to be anxious for an extension of the Belgrade Agreement of 1937—now out of date owing to the *Anschluss*—as a permanent basis for her Balkan foreign policy, while Jugoslavia primarily desired

a development of trade relations. "Full identity of views" on "questions of mutual interest" was officially announced. In Jugoslav circles reports of a military understanding were expressly contradicted.

CZECHS AND SUDETEN

After a first round-table conference (June 23rd) the Sudeten leaders announced that they were claiming that equality of nationalities should be inscribed in the Constitution and that Czech colonisation in the German districts should cease. The negotiations then languished while Dr. Hodza negotiated with the coalition parties. The British and French ministers asked for information (July 1st) as to the progress of the Nationality Statute, and the Sudeten party (July 2nd) said they reserved their attitude towards it till they were apprised of all its contents.

President Beneš declared (June 30th) that the Government would go to the extreme limit of concessions and that the nationalities problem would be justly resolved in a few weeks. The German Press showed impatience : Herr Goebbels declared (June 21st) in a speech that it would soon be seen that a race could not be separated in two countries. In Leningrad, Dr. Litvinoff said (June 25th) that Czechoslovakia was a country defending herself and responsibility for any attack must fall on the aggressor.

Dr. Hodza also invited (June 18th) the Polish leaders to a discussion, and conferred with certain activist Hungarian deputies, whose title to speak for the Magyar minority was, however, denied by the *Pester Lloyd* (June 24th).

Herr Hitler was reported (about July 6th) to have impressed on the British Government his hope that the matter should be settled before the Nüremberg Congress in September.

The visits paid by Col. Beck, Polish Foreign Minister to Stockholm and the Baltic States, in May, June and July, did little to further the project of a neutral league, centred on Warsaw in place of Geneva, and extending from Scandinavia to the Black Sea. The Eighth Conference of Baltic States at Riga discussed the subject, but its members were impressed by the consideration that such a league must necessarily be dominated by Poland and would be directed against their powerful neighbour, Russia. Finland was also alive to this danger and preferred her attachment to the Scandinavian group.

SANJAK OF ALEXANDRETTA

In the Sanjak of Alexandretta the registration of electors, by the League Commission, gave small hope for the Turks of the majority (22 out of 41 seats) which the French had concurred in their obtaining. Meanwhile, owing not least to British counsels of moderation at Angora, the French and Turkish general staffs at Antioch were approaching an agreement, under which the Sanjak would be provisionally policed by troops of both states in equal numbers (2,500) ; it was thus possible for negotiations for a treaty of friendship to be resumed. On June 22nd the Turks, having impugned the impartiality of the electoral commission, ceased to recognise it ; its President suspended its work and returned to Geneva. Three instruments, initialled between France and Turkey at Angora (July 4th), provided for : co-operation in maintaining security in the Eastern Mediterranean, and mutual withholding of aid from an aggressor ; Turkish preponderance—though without territorial rights—in the Sanjak ; and certain safeguards for Turkish and Syrian optants. The French and Turkish troops entered the Sanjak on July 5th ; the presence of the latter was distrustfully viewed in Syria. In Paris the agreements were approved as

a realistic solution of difficulties due to the—still unratified—Franco-Syrian treaty of 1936, as heralding a close entente with Turkey, and marking a parallelism with the British policy, exemplified in the grant of credits (£16,000,000) by Parliament (July 4th) for Turkish armaments and economic development.

SWISS NEUTRALITY

THE Swiss Government having informed the Governments of Italy and Germany that the League Council had taken note (May 14th) of Switzerland's intention not to participate in sanctions under the Covenant, the Italian Government replied (June 21st) that Switzerland's will to neutrality would neet with a corresponding will on Italy's part to recognise it. Germany replied in similar terms, citing her previous declarations. The Reich Foreign Office organ observed that neutrality implied an objective attitude and reserve in expressing ideas inspired by differences in the regimes of the two States.

LATIN AMERICA

THE frontier proposed by the Buenos Ayres Peace Conference in settlement of the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraquay, was accepted by the former state, but not by the latter. On July 9th the delegates of the two states agreed to accept the southern section of the proposed boundary, leaving the northern section—important owing to its relation to the oil-fields—to be fixed by the arbitration of the Presidents of the six mediating states, subject to the agreement being confirmed in Paraguay by a plebiscite to be held within three weeks.

THE FAR EAST

THE German Ambassador to China was recalled, and left Hankow on June 26th; most of the German advisers left on July 5th; the Chinese Ambassador in Berlin was recalled about June 30th.

In official statements (June 17th, 25th, July 6th) Japanese ministers warned their nation to expect a long war, and rejected mediation by third parties; but they indicated that, in changed circumstances, Japan might revise her decision of January 16th not to negotiate with the Chinese National Government; the Pekin and Nanking Governments, when merged, might, Prince Konoye explained (July 6th), negotiate with a reformed National Government, not under General Chiang Kai-shek's leadership.

General Ugaki, foreign minister, denounced (June 17th) alleged aid given to China by France in munitions and advisers—charges which M. Bonnet denied (June 20th). Hoikow, the port of Hainan Island, was shelled by Japanese warships (June 24th) and the Island's occupation was threatened—though territorial aims were disclaimed. France protested (June 21st) against this design and, about June 27th, the French and British Governments informed Japan that an occupation might cause complications, in which case they would support one another. Japanese warships withdrew from Hainan about June 30th. France then occupied the Paracel Islands (100 miles south-east of Hainan), a step which Japan (July 8th) declared to be contrary to assurances given in Sept., 1937. On June 24th, Japan landed troops near Swatow and occupied Namoa Island, twenty miles distant, as an air base.

The breaching of the Yellow River dykes frustrated the Japanese manoeuvre against Hankow from the north. The Yangtse floods delayed other columns moving on Hankow from Angking. The Japanese forces advancing up the Yangtse captured the boom and land defences at Matung (June 27th) and occupied Hukow (July 5th) whence they could threaten Kiukiang or Nanchang. Japan advised neutrals (July 11th) to evacuate Hankow and six other areas which would be bombed in the advance on Hankow.

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